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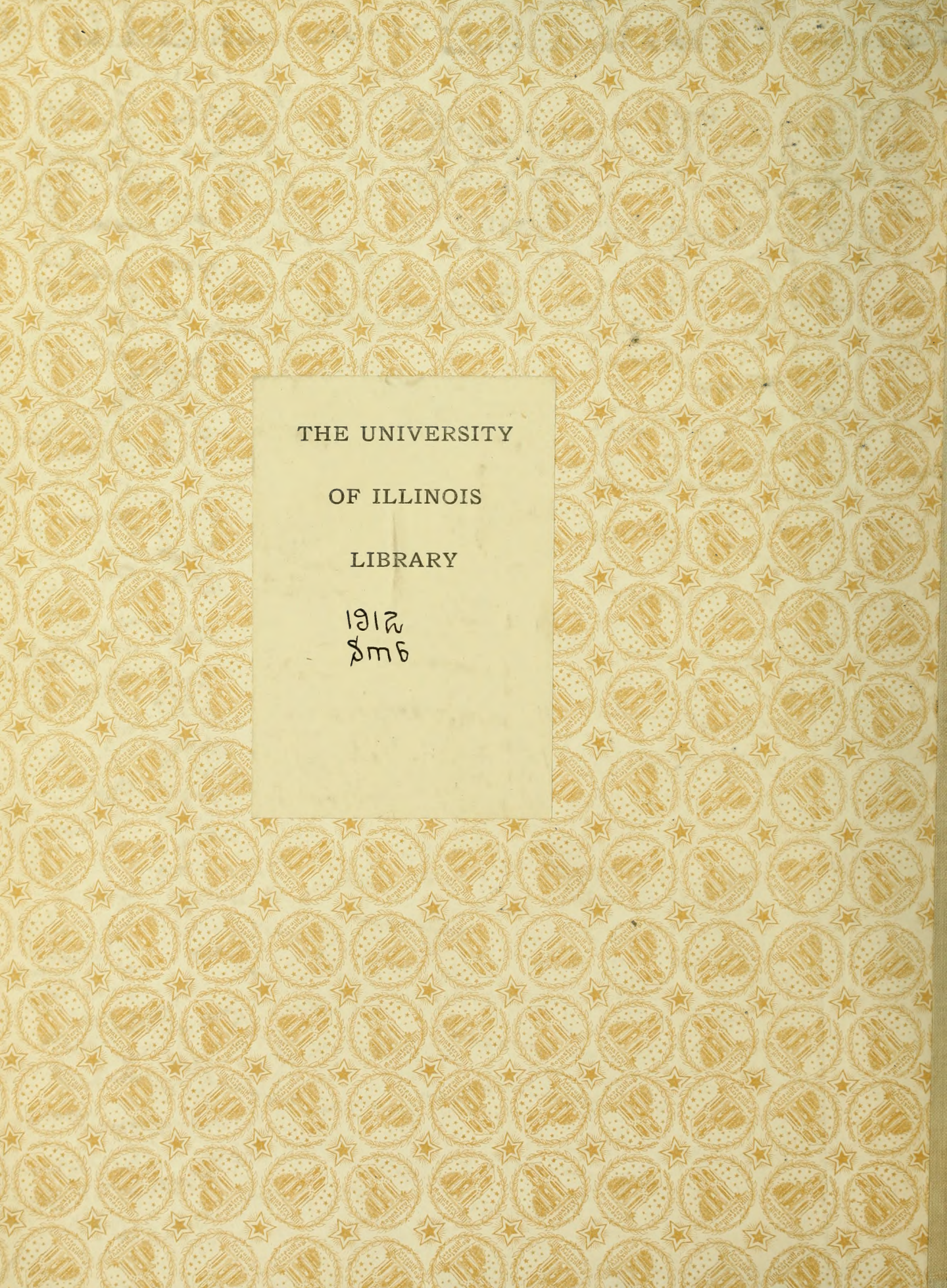
Education in Old Japan

Education

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EDUCATION IN OLD JAPAN

BY

PERCY ALMERIN SMITH

A. B. UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS. 1901

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

IN

EDUCATION

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1912

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EDUCATION IN OLD CANADA

BY ALBERT SMITH

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY J. H. HARRIS

THE

EDUCATION IN CANADA
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

THE

EDUCATION IN CANADA

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EDUCATION IN CANADA

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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 31, 1912

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

ENTITLED *Percy A. Smith*
Education in Old Japan

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF *Master of Arts*

L. F. Anderson

In Charge of Major Work

W. C. Bayley

Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in:

Committee

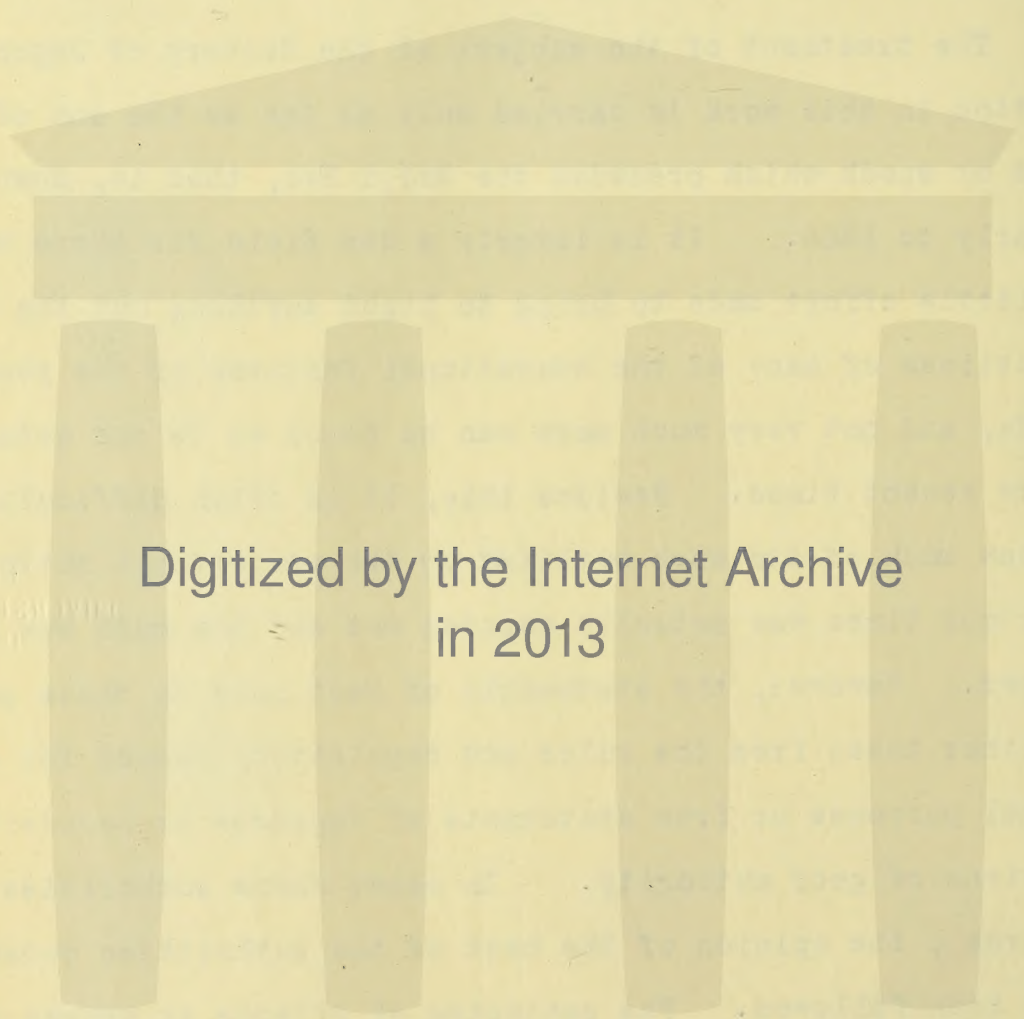
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INTRODUCTION

The treatment of the subject of the History of Japanese Education in this work is carried only as far as the end of the period or epoch which preceded the Meiji Era, that is, down to, or nearly to 1868. It is largely a new field for there has been little effort made to bring to light anything but the barest outlines of many of the educational features of the remoter periods, and not very much more can be found as to the details of more recent times. Besides this, it is often difficult to know how much of the work outlined by the educational authorities at various times was actually carried out and how much was only on paper. However, the statements of fact made in these pages are either taken from the rules and regulations issued for educational purposes or from statements of Japanese or Occidental historians of good authority. In cases where authorities do not agree, the opinion of the best of the authorities consulted has been followed. The estimates of effects or causes or of conditions are based on the condition of the country as revealed by historians, but are liable to error not only from mistaken judgment on the part of the one making the estimate, but also on account of the fact that there is so far, no real history of Japan in any full and scientific sense of the word beyond the sixteenth century. For the centuries before that time, Murdock and Yamagata's work has given a real picture of conditions in a



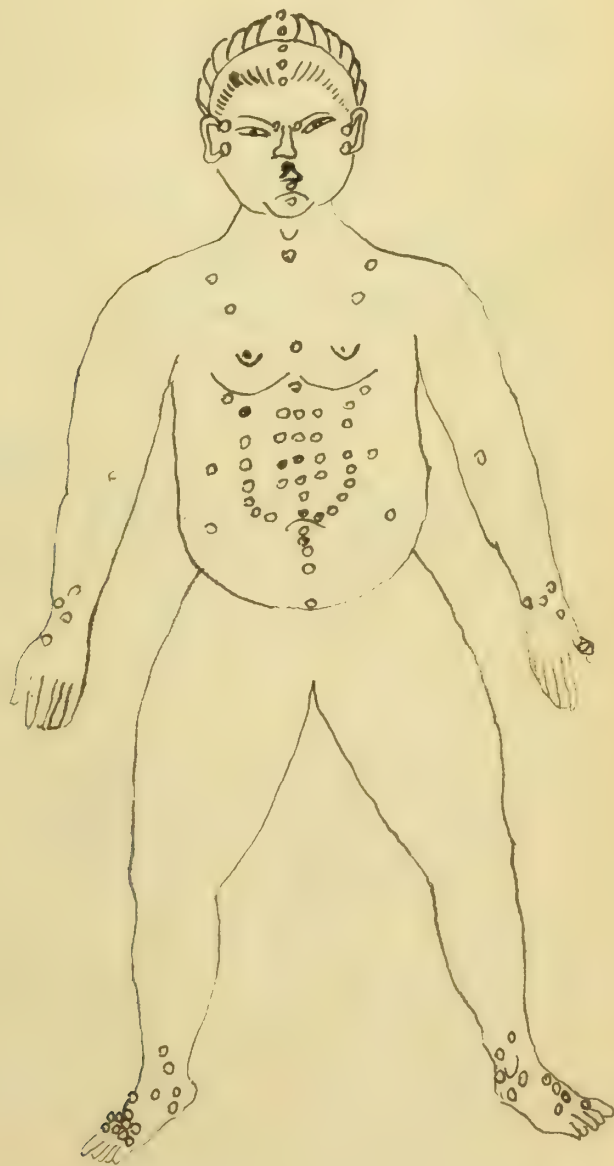
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Chart of the Internal Organs.
(See page 117)

Chart of the Human Body Showing Some
of the Points Where Acupuncture Needles
Should be inserted. (See page 116)



way that no other historians have ventured to do. But, unfortunately, as yet, Mr. Murdoch's work extends only to the end of the Japanese Middle Ages, that is, to about the year 1630.

This has made the last part of the work especially unsatisfactory, as it is difficult to form a clear idea of conditions which prevailed just previous to the fall of the shogunate, of the most confused and confusing periods in the whole history of the empire. As consequence the last chapters seem to leave one with a feeling that the work is unfinished, which is perhaps more or less true. This feeling is due, partly, however, to the fact that the whole of the work of the shogun's government gradually faded away, or rather decayed internally, with a sort of dry rot, making it very difficult to say what became of more than one branch of its activity.

The work here outlined also presupposes a general knowledge of Japanese history such as one might gain from Griffis' Mikado's Empire or Murray's Japan, in the Story of the Nations Series.

Lastly many thanks are due to the many Japanese friends whose help in research and translation has been absolutely indispensable from the beginning to the end of the task.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1. Japanese Chronology.

The table given below is based on the Japanese official chronology, but as the work of recording events and dates did not begin until the year 400 A.D. or thereabouts, all dates earlier than that are extremely uncertain. More than this, the earliest records now extant date from the year 712 A.D., thus making some of the dates even later than 400 A.D. more or less doubtful. There is however, no consensus of opinion as yet among those who oppose the official chronology, among whom are nearly all the leading historians of the country, both foreigners and Japanese, except in the matter of non-acceptance of the government's pronouncement. For this reason, that is, for the sake of convenience, we have followed the older, less accurate way of doing things and have used the dates as they are given in the histories prepared by the Educational Department.

Chronological Table

Political History	Literary History	History of Education
Age of the Old Patriarchal Government 660 B.C.-645 A.D.	Archaic Period Before 700 A.D.	Earliest Ages 660 B.C.-97 B.C. Chapter 1, Section 1 Semi-barbarous Age 97 B.C.-285 A.D. Chapter 1, Section 11 Period of the Intro- duction of Chinese Civilization 285 A.D. - 668 A.D. CHAPTER 11.
Age of the Rule of the Civilian Court 645 - 1186 A.D.	Nara Epoch 700-800 A.D. Kyoto Period 800 - 1186 A.D.	Period of Chinese Learning Centered in Kyoto 668-1186 A.D. Chapters 111 - XII-
Kamakura Period Ashikaga Shoguns 1186--1332	Kamakura Period Decline of Learning 1186--1332	
Namboko Cho, Period of the Two Courts 1332--1392	Namboku Cho and Muromachi Period Dark Ages 1332-1603	Dark Ages 1186-----1603 Chapter XII1
Muromachi Period 1392--1603		
Tokugawa Age. 1603--1868	Tokugawa Age 1603-1868 Revival of Learning	Tokugawa Age 1603-1868 Revival of Learning Chapters XIV-XX1

APPENDIX II

Divisions of the year made by the Emperor Sujin and still is use among the farmers of Japan.

1-	Beginning of Spring-----	Risshun---	Begins about Feb. 3.
2-	Rain Water -----	U-sui-----	" " " 19.
3-	Awakening of the Insects-----	Kei-chitsu-	" " Mar. 5.
4-	Middle of Spring -----	Shum-bun---	" " " 20.
5-	Clear Weather -----	Sei-me-----	" " Apr. 5.
6-	Seed Rain -----	Koku-u-----	" " " .20.
7-	Beginning of Summer -----	Rik-ka-----	" " May 5.
8-	Little Plenty -----	Sho-man-----	" " " 20.
9-	Transplanting the Rice -----	Bo-Shu-----	" " June 5
10-	Height of Summer-----	Ge-shi-----	" " " 21
11-	Little Heat -----	Sho-sho-----	" " July 6.
12-	Great Heat -----	Dai-sho-----	" " " 23.
13-	Beginning of Autumn-----	Risshu -----	" " Aug. 7.
14-	Local Heat -----	Sho-sho-----	" " Aug. 23
15-	White Dew -----	Haku-ro-----	" " Sept. 8
16-	Middle of Autumn -----	Shu-bun-----	" " " 23
17-	Cold Dew -----	Kan-ro -----	" " Oct. 8.
18-	Fall of Hoar Frost -----	So-ko -----	" " " 23
19-	Beginning of Winter -----	Rit-to -----	" " Nov. 7
20-	Little Snow -----	Sho-setsu--	" " " 22
21-	Great Snow -----	Dai-setsu--	" " Dec.7.
22-	Height of Winter,-----	To-ji -----	" " " 22.
23-	Little Frost-----	Sho-kan ---	" " Jan 6.
24-	Great Frost -----	Dai-kan---	" " " 20

These dates are all put in here according to our present Gregorian calendar, but they were originally intended to fit into a lunar calendar. The hold which these divisions of the year have upon the people may be inferred from the fact that not long ago when it was suggested to an educated Japanese that the Gregorian calendar would have to be adopted even in the country districts he replied that such a change would be very troublesome to the farmers as they would not know when to plant and reap their crops!

APPENDIX III.

The Chinese and Japanese Systems of Writing.

The Chinese system of writing, as it came to Japan, was a direct descendant of hieroglyphic writing. Each character was a picture, an ideograph, standing for an idea, though there was also a sound or phonetic value attached to it as well. So at first, they were used by the Japanese as phonetic symbols only, and but a very few, proportionately, of the thousands in existence were needed for this purpose. But this was very awkward, and some Japanese scholars now and then tried using them partly as ideographs.

To give an idea, roughly, of how such a thing might be done, let us take the sentence, "These two horses are of equal height". We will take it for granted that all of these sounds can be represented by ideographs used as phonetic symbols. But this is a very clumsy way of writing a sentence for the ideographs are very complicated affairs, and it takes two or three of them for each work in the sentence. Our knowledge of the ideographs is limited, but we know that the character " " stands for the idea of

"horse". Moreover, the phonetic value of this character is, for our purposes, "equ", the stem of the Latin word "Equus". We will not write our sentence, "These two 馬 are of 馬 al height". In the first case, the character is used as an ideograph, and my knowledge of the language tells me that the word which expresses the idea represented by the character 馬 is "horse", or in this case "horses", as the numeral "two" precedes the character. In the second place, the character is used simply as a phonetic sign for the sound of "equ" and has no idea connected with it at all. Now suppose that all the sounds which are here written with ordinary English letters were written with such characters and that here and there other characters were mixed in used as ideographs proper, and one can easily see that such a system would be very difficult to read, for it would be very hard in many places to tell whether a character was used as a phonetic symbol or as an ideograph. It is just this which makes the Kohiki so very difficult to read.

The next step was to simplify certain of the ideographs and use them exclusively and as phonetic symbols only, having no ideographs as such at all. But this did not satisfy some and they took to using the full form of the ideograph when it was used as an ideograph proper, and the abbreviated form when it was used as a phonetic symbol only. This made the matter much more simple, for it was very easy to tell which were phonetic characters and which were ideographs. Thus in the following sentence, 馬ハ牛ヨリ足カ早イ, which is read, "Uma wa ushi yori ashi ga hayai," "The horse is swifter of foot than the cow," the main ideas, "horse" and "cow", "foot," and "swift" are represented by ideographs used as such, while the nominative particles "wa" and "ga" which are

simply case signs, and the comparative conjunction "yori", as well as the adjective ending of the word "hayai" are all in the shortened forms which are used only as phonetic signs. In a case like this it is perfectly easy to see which signs are used in one way and which in the other, but if all were written in one way, that is in the full forms, it would be more troublesome.

Later on came the Japanese tendency to use both the Chinese and the native words for the same idea, just as in English we have Latin and Anglo-Saxon words standing for the same concept. For example, there are three or four pronunciations of the character "馬" which we have just used. In the word "馬車" "Basha" (Carriage) it is pronounced "Ba"; in "馬丁", "Betto" (Groom) it is pronounced "Bet"; and when it stands alone it is pronounced "Uma". In these cases the pronunciation of the character is determined by the other characters which are associated with it. The reader knows that the character "馬", for example, means a horse, and that "車" means a wheeled vehicle, and he also knows that the spoken word "Basha" means a carriage, therefore he knows that this is the written form of that word. The same is true of the other words where this character is used.

Again, if we take the character "下" when used as verb, it may mean either to go down or cause to go down. If it is written "下ル", it is read "Kudaru" because the phonetic character "ル", "ru" follows it. If it is written "下ス", it is read "Kadasu", since it is followed by the phonetic character "ス" "su". The former means to go down and the latter to cause to go down. Besides this it may be read in other ways in other places as well, there being five or six or more readings for this one



character depending upon the characters which follow it and the context in which it is found. It is not always easy even for educated Japanese to know the special reading of every character in every place where it occurs, although if he knows the character at all he will know the meaning perfectly well.

To illustrate a similar thing which might occur in English let us go back to the first character which we used, "馬" meaning "horse", and use it in the place of the various root forms of words which mean "horse" in our own language. We should have, then, "馬" read as "Horse", when it stands alone; "馬" "Estrian" would be read "Equestrian"; and "馬" "drome" would be "Hippodrome". A person who could read the ideograph and knew its meaning would be able to tell much of the meaning of the words, though he might be absolutely unable to pronounce the words at all. Whether he could understand the full meaning of the words or not would depend upon whether he could get the significance of the latter part of them from the phonetic characters.

This then, was the solution of the problem as it was worked out by the Japanese centuries ago, and the system of combining the two kinds of characters is still in universal use. The percentage of ideographs used in proportion to the number of phonetic character varies very much according to the amount of education supposed to be possessed by the readers and according to the style, as the pure "written language" of Japan has many homonyms which can be distinguished in meaning only by means of the ideographs. There are however, three distinct styles or methods of writing now in use which have grown out of the mixing of these two sets of characters.

The first of these is exactly that previously described,

in which only enough phonetic characters are used to make the meaning of the ideographs or their relation to each other in the sentence clear. For example, in the sentence, "小イ共カ"木 = 上ル ", "Kodomo ga ki ni agaru", "The child climbs up the tree", there are only three phonetic characters used. The first one, "カ", "ga", is only the sign of the nominative case of the subject "Kodomo"; the second, " = ", "ni", is a post-position, performing the same office as a preposition; and the last one "ル ", "ru", indicates how the verb represented by the ideograph "上 ", is to be read.

The second method is exactly like the first except that the phonetic characters are used alongside of the ideographs in order to assist those not familiar with them in reading them. The same sentence, written in this style, would be this, "小イ共カ"木 = 上ル ". Here we have every sound in the whole sentence represented by the phonetic characters, so that anyone can read it and yet the ideographs are retained so that the meaning is very clear to anyone who can understand their significance. In such a sentence as this the retention of these ideographs is not an absolute necessity, as the meaning is very simple, but in some cases it is not so easy to tell what the expression means without their aid.

The third style is the one in which only phonetic characters are used. Our sentence now looks like this: "コトモカキ = アカル ". As we have just said, there is little likelihood that this sentence would be misunderstood, but in cases where there are too many words of the same sound but of different meaning, it might be difficult to read such a style and be sure of understanding it.

The first of these three styles is used in books and other work intended for educated people only, people who are familiar with all the ideographs likely to be used; the second is used in newspapers and other work intended for all kinds of persons; and the last is used for books for children or other such simple matters where the ideographs would be useless because the readers would not know anything about them and besides they are not needed as the meaning is too simple for any confusion to arise on account of too many homonyms.

APPENDIX IV.

There seems to have been a fifth department, a higher one, called the Monjo, added sometime later, but the nature of it, its purpose, and its date are all obscure. The students of such a department are mentioned, however, in the laws of Engi. See Appendix VI.

APPENDIX V.

Extracts from Text-books.

In learning to read, as we have said, the various books had to be learned separately as there were so many ideographs in each one which were different from those in the others. The following page is taken from chapter XII of the Analects.

On page 12 are the first sixteen characters, that is, the first four sentences, of the Thousand Character Essay, used for teaching writing. The actual copies used were larger than the ones given here, these being about medium size.

Extracts from the kyusho.

Part 1. Measurements of squares and rectangles.

1- A field contains 1260 Bu. reduce to Tan and Se. (30 Bu. equal 1 Se and 10 se equals 1 Tan)

Ans. 4 Tan and 2 Se. (This result is obtained in the usual manner by dividing 1260 by 30 and the quotient by 10.)

2- If a rectangular field contains 1680 bu, and the length exceeds the breadth by 13 Bu (linear) what are the dimensions of the field

Ans. 48 X 35 Bu. (No hint is given as to method of procedure)

Part 11. Measures of value, length and quantity.

If the price of 1 Koku and 6 To of good rice and 3 Koku of poor rice is 5 Ryo, and the amount of good rice for 1 Ryo is 2 to less than the amount of poor rice for the same amount of money, what is the price of each kind of rice? (10 to equal 1 Koku)

Ans. Poor rice, 1 Ryo per Koku, Good Rice, 8 to for 1 Ryo.

Part 111 Calculation of values.

327 ryo of gold is to be divided among five persons, A.B.C.D and E. B is to have a little half (1-3) as much as A; C is to have a weak half, (1-4) , as much as B; D is to have a large half (2-3) as much as C; and E is to have a strong half (3-4) as much as D.

Ans.-A, 216 Ryo; B, 72; C, 18; D, 12; E, 9.

Part IV. Relative Areas.

1- There are 7 circular and 3 square fields whose combined area is 3975 Bu. The length of an edge of one of the square fields is five Bu greater than the diameter of one of the circular fields. Find the length of the edge of one of the square fields and the di-

iameter of the circular ones?

Ans.- Square fields, 25 Bu on a side.

Diameter of circular field, 20 Bu.

2- If we have 3 spheres each 8 Sun in diameter standing on a plane surface, each touching the other two, and a third is placed upon these 3, so that it touches all 3, how far above the surface of the plane will the top of the fourth sphere be?

Ans.- 14.53 Sun. (Probably obtained by measurement, and not by calculation)

Part V. Measures of Volume.

1- What is the altitude of a truncated rectangular pyramid whose upper base measures 25 x 20 and whose lower base measures 28X35 Ken?

Ans.-30 Ken (Exactly correct)

2- Find the volume of a cylinder whose circumference is 37 Shaku and whose altitude is 14 Shaku.

Ans.-1597 and 1-6 Shaku.

3- A certain number of balls, or cakes are placed in a square pyramid. If we construct a triangular pyramid with the same number of cakes or balls on each side of the base, it will contain 35 less balls or cakes than the square pyramid. Find the number of balls in each pyramid and the number on one side of the bases.

Ans.-91 balls in square pyramid; 56 in the triangular one;
each side of either pyramid contains 6 cakes or balls.

Part VI Measures of time and weight for calculating the cost of transportation.

1- Three men are engaged to carry away 1333.8 Tsube of earth. A

carried his to a distance of 4 Cho; B carries his 10 Cho; C, his 25 Cho. If they all work equally hard, how much will each carry away?

Ans.- A, 855 Tsube; B, 342 Tsube; C, 136.8 Tsubo.

2- From a certain place to the capital the distance is 120 Ri. A person who travels the road can go 10 Ri per day where it is up-hill and 15 Ri a day where it is down-hill. If a man travels up-hill and down-hill each an equal number of days, how many days will that be and how many miles each of up-hill and down-hill road are there to the capital.

Ans.- 4.8 days each; up-hill, 48 Ri; down-hill, 72 Ri.

Part VII. Measures of money among a certain number of persons.

1- A certain amount of money is to be divided among a certain number of people. If each receives 5 Ryo there will be 5 Ryo too little to go around. If each receives 3 Ryo there will be 36 Ryo remaining over. How many Ryo are there to be divided and how many persons are there?

Ans.- Money, 108 Ryo; Persons, 24.

Part VIII. Equations of two, three, or four unknown quantities.

1- If two arbor vitae boards and 3 cedar boards are given in exchange for 8 pine boards, they will exceed the value of the pine boards by 1 Ryo. If 4 cedar and 3 pine boards are given in exchange for 5 arbor vitae boards, they will be worth 2 Ryo less than the arbor vitae boards. If 4 pine and 3 arbor vitae boards are given in exchange for 6 cedar boards, they will exceed the value of the cedar boards by 2 Ryo. Find the value of one

board in each case.

Ans.- Pine Boards, -----2 Ryo each.

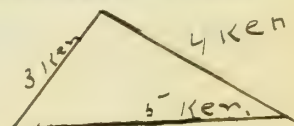
Cedar Boards -----2 " " .

Arbor Vitae Boards--4 " " .

Part 1X. The use of the right triangle in measuring surfaces and sometimes heights and distances. (There seems to have been little use of any such figure except the one kind given below, the simplest of all).

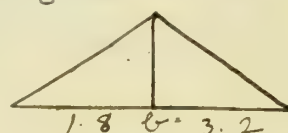
- 1- Find the length of the hypotenuse of a right triangle whose legs measure 3 and 4 Ken each.

Ans.- 5 Ken.



- 2- Find the length of the line AB in the figure given.

Ans.- 2.4 Ken.



Extracts from the Ekki or Book of Changes.

This book was not one of those studied in the regular course of the first University, but was much used in all ages in Japan and China and was much like the Sho-eki, which was used in the University.

X- The Li Hexagram .



(Li suggests the idea of) one treading on the tail of a tiger which does not bite him. There will be progress and success.

- 1- The first line, undivided, shows its subject treading his accustomed path. If he go forward there will be no error.



2- The second line, undivided, shows its subject treading the path that is level and easy; -a quiet and solitary man, to whom, if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

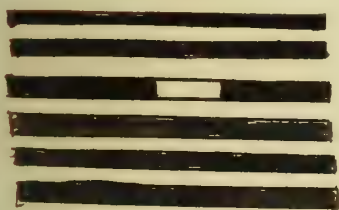
3- The third line, divided, shows a one-eyed man (who thinks he) can see; a lame man (who thinks he) can walk well; one who treads on the tail of a tiger and is bitten. (All this indicates) ill fortune. We have a (mere) bravo acting the part of a great ruler.

4- The fourth line, undivided, shows its subject treading on the tail of a tiger. He becomes full of apprehensive caution and in the end there will be good fortune.

5- The fifth line, undivided, shows the resolute tread of its subject. Though he be firm and correct, there will be peril.

6- The sixth line, undivided, tells us to look at (the whole course) that is trodden, and examine the presage which that gives. If it be complete and without failure, there will be great good fortune.

1X. The Hsiao Khu Hexagram.



Hsiao Khu indicates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and success. (We see) dense clouds, but no rain coming from our borders in the West.

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1- The first line, undivided, shows its subject returning and pursuing his own course. What mistake should he fall into? There will be good fortune.

2- The second line, undivided, shows its subject, by the attraction (of the former line) returning (to the proper course). There will be good fortune.

3- The third line, undivided, suggests the idea of a carriage, the strap beneath which has been removed, or of a husband and wife looking on each other with averted eyes.

4- The fourth line, divided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity. The danger of bloodshed is thereby averted, and his (ground for) apprehension dismissed. There will be no mistake.

5- The fifth line, undivided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity and drawing others to unite with him. Rich in resources, he employs his neighbors (in the same cause as himself).

6- The topmost line, undivided, shows how the rain has fallen, and the (onward progress) is stayed; -(so) we must value the full accumulation of the virtue (represented by the upper trigram). But a wife (exercising restraint), however firm and correct she may be, is in a position of peril, (and like) the moon approaching to the full. If the superior man prosecute his measures (in such circumstances) there will be evil.

The Shun-ju, or Shun-ju-Sa-shi-Den.

The original work is like this;-

"In the seventh year of Duke Chao, in spring, the northern Yen State made peace with the Ch'i State."

"In the third month the Duke visited the Ch'u State. The commentators, however, add much to these bald statements, for example; we have in the original;-

"In summer there was a great drought".

The commentator adds,-

"In consequence of the drought the Duke wished to burn a witch. One of his officers, however, said to him, "That will not affect the drought. Rather repair your city walls and ramparts; eat less, and curtail your expenditure; practise strict economy, and urge the people to help one another. That is the essential. What have witches to do in the matter? If God wishes her to be slain, it would have been better not to allow her to be born. If she can cause a drought, burning her will only make things worse." The Duke took his advice, and during that year, although there was famine, it was not very severe."

Extracts from the Raiki or Book of Rites.

Whenever (a host has received and) is entering with a guest, at every door he should give place to him. When the guest arrives at the innermost door (or that leading to the feast-room) the host will ask to be allowed to enter first and arrange the mats. Having done this, he will come out and receive the guest, who will refuse firmly (to enter first). The host having made a low bow to him, they enter (together). When they have

entered the door, the host moves to the right and the guest to the left, the former going to the steps on the east, and the latter to those on the west. If the guest be of lower rank, he goes to the steps of the host (as if to follow him up them). The host firmly declines, and he returns to the other steps on the west. Then they offer to each other the precedence in going up, but the host commences first, followed (immediately) by the other. They bring their feet together on every step, thus ascending by successive paces. He who ascends by the steps on the east should move his right foot first, and the other at the western steps his left foot. Outside the curtain (a visitor) should not walk with the formal hasty steps, nor above in the hall, nor when carrying the symbol of jade. Above, in the raised hall the foot prints should be alongside each other, but below it free and separate. In the apartment the elbows should not be held out like wings in bowing. When (two) equals are sitting side by side, they do not have their elbows extended cross-wise. One should not kneel in handing anything to a (superior) standing, nor stand in handing it to him sitting.

Extracts from the Analects.

"Is he not a man of complete virtue who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?"

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"The superior man bends his attention to what is radical.

That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. Filial piety and fraternal submission - are they not the root of all benevolent actions?"

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"The philosopher Tsang said, "I daily examine myself on

three points:- whether in transacting business for others, I may have been not faithful:- whether in intercourse with friends, I may have been not sincere:- whether I may have not mastered and practised the instructions of my teacher."

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 "Many E asked what filial piety was. The Master said,

'It is not being disobedient.'

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 Fan Ch'o said, 'What do you mean?' The Master replied,

'That parents, when alive, should be served according to propriety; that, when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety.'

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 "The Master said, 'Learning without thoughts is labor lost;

thought without learning is perilous.' "

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x
 "The Master said, 'He who offends against Heaven has none

to whom he can pray.' "

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x
 "The master said, 'If the son for three years does not al-

ter from the way of his father, he may be called filial.' "

x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x
 "The Master said, 'Those who know the truth are not equal

to those who love it, and those who love it are not equal to those who find pleasure in it.' "

+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
 "The Master said, 'If some years were added to my live, I

would give fifty to the study of the Book of Changes, and then I might come to be without great faults.' "

+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
 "The Master said, 'Respectfulness without the rules of propriety becomes laborious bustle; carefulness without the rules of propriety becomes timidity; boldness without the rules of propriety becomes insubordination; straight forwardness without the rules of propriety becomes rudeness.'

When those who are in high stations perform well all their

duties to their relations, the people are aroused to virtue.

When old friends are not neglected by them the people are preserved from meanness'".

"Confucius, in his village, looked simple and sincere, and as if he were not able to speak.

When he was in the prince's ancestral temple or in the court, he spoke minutely on every point, but cautiously.

When he was waiting at court, in speaking with the officers of the lower grade, he spoke freely but in a straight forward manner; in speaking with officers of the higher grade, he did so blandly, but precisely.

When the prince was present, his manner displayed respectful uneasiness; it was grave and self-possessed.

When the prince called him to employ him in the reception of a visitor, his countenance appeared to change and his legs to bend beneath him.

He inclined himself to the other officers among whom he stood, moving his left or right arm, as their position required, but keeping the skirts of his robe before and behind evenly adjusted.

He hastened forward with his arms like the wings of a bird.

When the guest retired, he would report to the throne,

'The visitor is not turning round any more'".

"When he entered the palace gate, he seemed to bend his body as if it were not sufficient to admit him.

When he was standing he did not occupy the middle of the gateway; when he passed in or out he did not tread upon the threshold.

When he was passing the vacant place of the prince, his countenance appeared to change, and his legs to bend under him and his words to come as if he hardly had breath to utter them.

He ascended the dais, holding up his robe with both his hands, and his body bent; holding his breath also, as if he dared not breathe.

When he came out from the audience, as soon as he had descended one step, he began to relax his countenance, and had a satisfied look. When he got to the bottom of the steps, he advanced rapidly to his place, with his arms like wings, and on occupying it his manner still showed respectful uneasiness."

+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
"While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"

"Being without anxiety or fear," said New, "does this constitute what we call the superior man?"

+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
The Master said, 'When internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?'"

X + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
"Ke K'ang distressed about the number of thieves in the state, inquired of Confucius about how to do away with them.

Confucius said, 'If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal.'"

+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
"The Master said, 'If there were any of the princes who

would employ me, in the course of twelve months I should have done something remarkable. In the years the government would be perfected'".

X + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
"The Duke of She informed Confucius, saying, 'among us here there are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their father have stolen a sheep, they bear witness to the fact.'

Confucius said, 'Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this'".

X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X
 "The Master said, 'The Scholar who cherishes the love of comfort is not fit to be deemed a scholar.'"

Extracts from the book of Filial Piety.

Chapter 7. Filial Piety in Relation to the Three Powers.

The disciple Tsang said, "Immense indeed is the greatness of filial piety." The Master replied, "Filial piety is the constant method of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the practical duty of man. Heaven and Earth invariably pursue the course (that may be thus described) and the people take it as their pattern. (The ancient kings) imitated the brilliant luminaries of Heaven and acted in accordance with the (varying) advantages afforded by earth, so that they were in accord with all under heaven; and in consequence their teachings, without being severe were successful, and their government, without being rigorous, secured perfect order.

The ancient kings, seeing how their teachings could transform the people, set before them therefore an example of the most extended love, and none of the people neglected their parents; they set forth to them (the nature of) virtue and righteousness, and the people roused themselves to the practice of them; they went before them with reverence and yielding courtesy and the people had no contentions; they led them on by the rules of propriety and by music, and the people were harmonious and benign.

nant; they showed them what they loved and what they disliked, and the people understood their prohibitions.

It is said in the Book of Poetry,

'Awe-inspiring are you, O Grand-Master Yin,

And the people look up to you.'

Chapter X.

An Orderly Description of the Acts of Filial Piety.

The Master said, "The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows:- In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them, his endeavor is to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them (dead), he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things (he may be pronounced) able to serve his parents."

APPENDIX VI.

Regulation for the University, contained in the Engishiki, or Code of General Laws for the Period of Engi, 901-923.

1-Ceremonies.

(a) Utensils and officials.

1- There shall be eleven shrines in the University, dedicated, one each, to Confucius, his disciple Ganshi, and nine of his other disciples.

2- Before the shrines of Confucius and Ganshi the following vessels with the prescribed offerings in them shall be used.

| Name of vessel | Offering contained. |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1-Ken (a kind of covered dish) ----- | Salt. |
| 2- " ----- | Dried Fish. |
| 2- " ----- | Chestnuts. |
| 4- " ----- | Nuts. |
| 5- " ----- | Filberts. |
| 6- " ----- | Water Caltrops. |
| 7- " ----- | Ken (a kind of water
plant) |
| 8- " ----- | Salt Venison. |
| 9- " ----- | White rice cakes. |
| 10- " ----- | Black rice cakes. |
| 1-Tō (another kind of covered dish) ----- | Garlic. |
| 2- " ----- | Meat gelatine. |
| 3- " ----- | Turnips. |
| 4- " ----- | Salt venison. |
| 5- " ----- | Leaves of Seri. |
| 6- " ----- | Salt Hare-ment. |
| 7- " ----- | Soup of bamboo shoots |
| 8- " ----- | Salt fish. |
| 9- " ----- | Tripe. |
| 10 " ----- | Pork soup (knee-joint |
| 1-Ki (a kind of square dish) ----- | Boiled millet. |
| 2- " ----- | Boiled rice |
| 1-Hō (a kind of round dish) ----- | Ordinary boiled rice |
| 2- " ----- | Extra fine rice for
cakes |
| 1-Tō (three in number, different from above -- | Meat and vegetable
stew. |
| 1-Kei (three in number) ----- | Meat soup |
| 1-Sō (" " ") ----- | Beef, mutton, pork. |

3- The names of the nice disciples of Confucius, besides Ganshi, to whom shrines shall be dedicated, are: - Bin-shi-ken, Zem-Paku-gyu, Chupkyu, Zen-yo, Ki-ro, Sai-ga, Shi-yu, Shi-ka.

4- Before the shrines of each of these disciples of Confucius, the following vessels with the prescribed offerings in them shall be used.

| Name of vessel | Offering contained. |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1- Hen ----- | Chestnuts. |
| 2- " ----- | Dried venison. |
| 1- Tō ----- | Salt venison. |
| 2- " ----- | Pickled young leaves. |
| 1- Ki ----- | Boiled rice. |
| 1- Hō ----- | Boiled millet. |
| 1- Tō ----- | Meat and vegetable stew. |
| 1- Kei ----- | Meat soup. |
| 1- Sō ----- | Beef, mutton and pork. |

5- The following vessels with the prescribed drink offerings shall be used before the shrine of Confucius.

| Name of Vessel | Offering contained. |
|---|---|
| 1- Gison (literally 'offering cask') ---- | Pure water. |
| 2- " ----- | High grade, sweet unfermented wine (sake) |
| 1- Zōsōn (elephant cask) ----- | Pure water. |
| 2- " ----- | High grade fermented wine (sake) |
| 1- Rai (bowl for offering) ----- | Unclarified wine (sake). |
| 2- " ----- | Clarified wine (sake). |

1-Three cups (set beside the place for washing utensils).

1-Ten (another kind of cup)

1-Six dippers (placed on the casks containing the wine offerings.)

6- Before the shrine of Ganshi three casks and three bowls shall be used, each containing the proper offering.

7- There shall also be provided thirty cups (three each for the shrine of Ganshi and the nine other disciples), two other cups, one $\dot{S}o$ with meat, one Hen, and three of still another kinds of cups, with a dipper for each of the last, one Rai (bowl for offering) and a dipper, one large dish for washing the utensils and one box for containing all these utensils.

8- The offerings here prescribed shall be made before the proper shrines upon the festival days observed by the University, and the utensils for this purpose shall be kept in the University itself.

9- Two pieces of white cotton cloth thirty-six feet long and fifteen inches wide shall be hung before the shrines of Confucius and Ganshi.

10- There shall also be provided three pieces of white cotton cloth, each four feet long by fifteen inches wide for cleaning the cups and for washing the hands before worshipping.

11- There shall be two bowls of catalpa wood, each fourteen inches long, eight inches wide and seven inches deep.

12- These two bowls and the cloths shall be furnished by the Department of Civil Office and Education.

13- At the time of each festival the following materials shall be provided by the authorities of the University;-

Incense ----- Four ounces.
 Oil for lighting ----- Three quarts.
 Open lamps with wicks ----- Eight.
 Charcoal ----- One basket.
 Pitch pine kindling ----- Six bundles.

14- The meat for the offerings shall be that of full-grown deer, of fawns, wild boar, together with the hearts, lungs, stomachs, livers and kidneys of these animals, and the salted meat of hares.

15- The six sections of the Imperial Guard shall each furnish one full-grown boar, one fawn, and one wild boar, one day before the festival. They shall each furnish also one hare three months before the festival, which shall be dried and salted by the Culinary Department of the Imperial Household.

16- The offerings shall be brought by the six sections of the Imperial Guard in the following order;-

First, Left Body-guard; second, Right Body-guard; third, Left Guard Proffer; fourth, Right Guard Proper; fifth, Left Gate Guard; Sixth, Right Gate Guard.

17- If the offerings brought by any of these sections of the Imperial Guard shall be not fresh, they shall be returned and fresh ones shall be furnished.

18- If the festival of Confucius and his disciples shall fall upon the day of the festival of Sono-no-Kara-Kami or Kasuga or Oharano or upon the day before any of these festivals, fish shall be substituted for the animals before mentioned, by the Imperial Guards. In such a case each of the six sections shall furnish fifty fresh carp of fifty fresh Prussian carp, six inches

or more in length. The salted fish shall be furnished by the Culinary Department of the Imperial Household.

19- The amount of each kind of offering placed in each vessel shall be as follows:-

| Vessel. | Offering | Amount. |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1- Hen ----- | Salt ----- | Five lumps. |
| 2- " ----- | Dried fish ----- | One and one half quarts. |
| 3- " ----- | Chestnuts ----- | " " " " " |
| 4- " ----- | Nuts ----- | " " " " " |
| 5- " ----- | Filberts ----- | " " " " " |
| 6- " ----- | Water Caltrops ----- | " " " " " |
| 7- " ----- | Ken(a kind of water-
plant) ----- | " " " " " |
| 8- " ----- | Salt venison ----- | One and one third pounds
each of flesh of full-
grown deer and of fawn. |
| 9- " ----- | White rice cakes ----- | Three quarts. |
| 10- " ----- | Black rice cakes ----- | " " |
| 1- Tō ----- | Garlic ----- | One and one half quarts |
| 2- " ----- | Meat gelatine, salty - | " " " " " |
| 3- " ----- | Turnips ----- | " " " " " |
| 4- " ----- | Salt venison ----- | Three fourths of a
quart. |
| 5- " ----- | Leaves of Seri ----- | One and one half quart |
| 6- " ----- | Salt hare meat ----- | Three fourths of a
quart. |
| 7- " ----- | Soup of bamboo shoots- | One and one half quart |
| 8- " ----- | Salt fish ----- | Three fourths of quart |
| 9- " ----- | Tripe ----- | " " " " |
| 10- " ----- | Pork soup ----- | " " " " |
| 11- " ----- | Pickled young leaves - | One and one half " |

and a half inches long.

6- Two lacquered jars for clarified wine, twenty-seven quarts each.

7- Two jar stands, three and one tenth by one and seven tenths feet and two and six tenths feet high.

8- Two dippers.

9- " wine cups.

10- " white linen cloths, three by eight feet each.

11- Four green cloth girdles, eight feet by three inches each.

22- The authorities of the University shall give notice to the officials of the Department of Civil Office and Education twenty days before the date of each festival, of the date of the festival, of the number of cloths needed, and of the number of workmen needed for cleaning up the grounds. (The usual number shall be one hundred in the spring and two hundred in the fall). At times of national mourning, at times when prayer is being offered for a fruitful year, and at the time of an eclipse of the sun, the young men shall not be employed for this purpose, middle-aged men taking their places. During the year of the death of an emperor there shall be no celebration of any festivals.

23- Ten days before the date of any festival, the authorities of the University shall inform the officials of the Department of Civil Office and Education of the names of the persons holding the following offices:-

1- The Kōkyō or Lecturers on the Chinese Classics.

2- The Shikkyō or Carrier of Books.

3- The Shitto or Reader of the Chinese Classics.

4- The Jiko or Special Lecturers (More than six and less than ten in number)

24- All officials who shall take part in the festivals shall purify themselves three days before the day of the celebration and shall abstain from all unclean things for two days before that date. The act of purifying themselves shall be performed in the main shrine of the University and the abstaining from all unclean things shall be done in their own offices on the first day and at the place of the celebration on the second day. Those who have no offices shall do this on both days at the place of the celebration. (Note:- This means men who are supposed to be in the service of the government, but who have no special office at that time). At the time of the purification, the officials shall attend to their duties as usual, but they shall not do any of the following things:- (1) Inquire after the health of any person, (2) Listen to or perform any music, (3) Sign a warrant for the punishment of any person, (4) Inflict any punishment upon any person, (5) Handle any unclean things, During the time of abstaining from unclean things they shall occupy their time wholly in preparing for the festival; other officials, not concerned in the festival shall perform their duties for them. All students, officials and musicians who do not make these preparations shall stay in the University one night and shall purify themselves there.

On the days for abstaining from unclean things, all abstaining officials shall be given wine and food and they shall rehearse the ceremony at the place of the celebration. The

men who shall be provided with food and wine shall be one hundred in number, besides the ^Mokuko, Okura-sho, Kamon-ryo, and Heishi. Their names and duties are as follows:-

1- Sanken (Three). In charge of the cloth offered. They shall wear scarlet trousers, black coats, and crowns.

2- Esha (Three) Escorts for the Sanken.

3- Tai-shiku (two). They shall hand the cloth offerings to the Sanken and read the memorials, as well as give the meat offerings to the various officials after the festival is over.

4- Byōshi (one). He shall be the superintendent of the shrine. He shall sit at the east end of the shrine, shall open and shut the door of the shrine, and shall arrange the images of Confucius and his disciples as well as all other things in the shrines.

5- Kōsharei (Three). They shall put the gohei in position and arrange the casks and cups. (Note:- Gohei are pieces of cut paper or cloth offered or set before the Shinto shrines, and the spirit of the god is sometimes supposed to be present in them). Two Kōsharei shall wear green clothes.

6- Hō rairō (one). He shall arrange the grounds and superintend the ceremony.

7- Sanja or Sansha (two). They shall repeat the memorials after the reading of the same by the Tai-shiku.

8- Sanyen (5) One Danjō, two Kanja, two Gakusei (students) all shall act as escorts.

9- Kyōritsu-rō (one) He shall beat time for the musicians.

(The sixteen men hitherto mentioned whose costumes have not been especially designated, shall wear scarlet clothes).

10- Sairo (fifty). They shall be in charge of the dishes called So and To and shall wear blue clothes.

11- Kwankwan (one) He shall act as House Official.

12- Gakkwan (one). Study Official (duties not clearly defined here)

13- Danjo (one).

14- Chuso (one). Both the Danjo and the Chuso shall take care of the utensils and superintend the cleaning of the place, inspect the cloth to be offered, and perform police duty.

15- Okurasho (one). He shall have charge of the hedges, the shrine, and the To-do-in, (one of the buildings) and arrange the utensils and curtains.

16- Kamonryo (one). He shall have charge of the shrine and shall superintend the work of the officials who arrange the festival.

17- Daizen-shoku (one). He shall superintend the furnishing of the utensils and wear scarlet clothes.

18- Kokuko (four). Master carpenter.

19- Mokuko (four) These men, with the master carpenter, shall dig the hold for burying the gohei and shall furnish the shelves for the utensils for the ceremony.

20- Oino-ryo (one). He shall kindle the fires and superintend the cooking.

21- Jonomo-ryo (one). He shall superintend the cleaning of the floor, offer the incense and place the lights in front of the shrines, and shall superintend the building of the fires in the grounds about the shrine.

22- Miki-no-tsukasa (one). He shall have charge of the fermented clarified wine, the unfermented sweet wine, and the hot water used in the offerings.

23- Kako-no-tsukasa (one). He shall have charge of the pure water used in the offerings.

24- Gagaku-ryo (one). Head musician.

25- Kojin (Twenty). Musicians.

26- Sa-yo-no-kyo-no-heishi (eight). Soldiers from the right and left sections of the capital. They shall have charge of the gates and shall do police duty.

(b) Arrangement of Utensils and other Matters.

1-Three days before the festival the Kamonryo shall fix the places where the Sanken and the Kwankwan and other officials are to be stationed.

2- Two days before the festival the authorities of the University shall appoint the persons who are to fill the various offices of Sanken, Essha, Tai-shiku, etc.

3- After this has been done, the Monjo Tokugyosei (or fellows) and all the other lower officials shall enter the South Gate of the University grounds and shall stand in two rows extending east and west, and shall move toward the east. Their names shall then be called, and as they are so called they shall take their proper places for the ceremony. When ten names have been called, the President shall order these ten men to stand in a row and face to the north. They are then to be ordered to appear before the Main Gate of the Shrine on the following morning, and shall then be dismissed.

4- On the same day, the Gagaku-ryo shall choose the

places for the musicians within the grounds of the shrine.
(Ordinary music shall be used on these occasions.)

5- The Tonomo-ryo shall sweep and clean the shrine, outside and inside, and the Kamonryo shall set the shrine in order.

6- The Mokuko-ryo shall make a hole in one corner of the grounds large enough to burn the remains of the things which are burned after the festival.

7- On the day before the festival the Daizen-shoku shall go to the University and wash the bowls and other dishes to be used in the ceremony, and the Oino-ryo shall make a fire in the south part of the grounds. (Note:- This may mean only preparing the fire ready to light the next day). TheKaku-no-tsukasa shall draw water from the north well. (For use in casks as offerings.)

8- The Horai-ro shall then choose the places for the various officials in the following order and according to the following rules,-

1- Sanken-On the north side of the path inside the East Gate.

11- Steward of the University- On the south side of the same path. On the day of the festival these officials shall face west and move toward the north.

111- The proper official to look into (i.e. to inspect) the hold mentioned above- Near the northeast corner of the main building. This official shall face toward the west.

1V- The Danjo and the Chuso-Near the southwest corner of the building. These officials shall face toward east.

V- His own (Horai-ro's) place - Just outside the northeast corner of the place for the musicians.

VI- Sanja - Just south of the Horai-ro, They face west.

VII- Kosharei, Byoshi, and Daizen-shoku - East of the Horai-ro. These officials face the West.

VIII- Sanja - Northeast of the hold. They shall face south and shall move to the east.

IX- Tai-shiku- Southwest of the hole. They shall face to the east.

X- Five Sanyen - The West side of the hold. They shall face to the east.

XI- Kyoritsu-ro - On the floor of the Main Building between the two front door-posts on the west side. He shall face to the East.

XII- Kwankwan - East of the place for the musicians and southwest of the place for the Steward, He shall face the West.

XIII-Gak-kwan- West of the place for the musicians. He shall face to the west.

XIV- Students - Just behind the Kwankwan and the Gak-kwan in two rows. They shall move toward the north.

XV - Kanja- Right and left sides of the path just inside the South Gate. They shall face to the North.

XVI- Sanken- Outside the East Gate on the south side of the path.

XVII-Steward of the University- Just behind the Sanken he and the Sanken move toward the North.

XVIII-Kwankwan and Gak-kwan-Southeast of the Sanken and facing them.

We shall indicate the places for the following utensils:-

1-Casks - The two Gison, the two Zoson, and the two Rai shall stand between the two front posts of the shrine, facing north. These are the ones for the shrine of Confucius.

11- Casks for Ganshi- The two Gison, the two Zoson, and the two Rai to the east of those for Confucius. (The casks shall each have a dipper on top. The cups for the offerings to Confucius stand beside the casks on their proper stands. Those for the other shrines shall be placed upon one large stand.)

111- Bowls for washing the cups - Southeast of the east steps of the shrine, but inside the building, and facing north.

1V- Water casks - East of the water bowls.

V- Box or basket of bamboo - Southwest of the water bowls, In this box or basket shall be three cups and the cloth to be offered to Confucius.

9- The carriers of the various utensils shall stand behind the things which they are to carry. This shall be indicated by the Horai-ro.

10- The officials appointed for the purpose shall place the cloth offering beside the casks.

11- On the same day at twelve, the University officials shall escort the officials who are to take part in the ceremony to the gate of the shrine. The roll shall then be called (partly by official titles and partly by family names) by some lower official. They shall then rehearse the ceremony to be performed on the following day.

12- At two in the afternoon, the soldiers shall take their places as guards.

13- After dark the three Kosharei, followed by the fifty Sairo

shall carry the casks, cup-stands and washing boxes into the shrine and shall put them into their proper places. At this time they shall go up into the shrine by the east steps.

14- The President and the Vice-President of the University shall go to the kitchen to see that the utensils are properly washed.

15- On the morning of the day of the festival, before daylight at about four o'clock, the Kosharei and their attendants, with the Byoshi, each one wearing his proper costume, shall go up to the shrine of Confucius, passing between the inner posts of the shrine and then they shall face south. They shall then arrange the shrines of Ganshi, Bin-shi, Zen-paku-gyu, Chu-kyu, and Zen-yo to the east of that of Confucius, in ascending order of importance from east to west. They shall then face the south and move toward the west. Then they shall arrange the shrines of Ki-ro, Sai-ga, Shi-ko, Shi-yu, and Shi-ka to the west of that of Confucius in ascending order of importance from west to east. They shall then face toward the south and go out toward the east.

(c) The Ceremony.

1- On the festival day about forty-five minutes before sunrise, all the officials who are to take part directly in the ceremony shall put on their proper robes and all the other officials concerned shall put on their uniforms. The students who are to have any part in the ceremony shall put on blue uniforms.

2- First the Kosharei and their helpers shall enter the shrine and fill the casks and put the cloth in the boxes in the proper

manner. The culinary officers and the Oino-ryo together shall put the soup and the other offerings in the proper vessels.

3- About one half an hour before sunrise the Horai-ro and the Sanja shall enter by the South Gate and take their places. They the Sanyen, the Chuso, the Tai-shiku, and the carriers of the casks and the boxes shall enter by the east Gate and stand just between the steps (and the Gate) in two lines, facing north, and arranged in order of descending rank from west to east.

4- The Horai-ro shall give the command for two bows and the three Sanja shall repeat this command (They shall repeat all the commands of the Horai-ro). The Chuso and all the other officials shall make two bows.

5- The carriers of the casks and the boxes shall then take their places.

6- Then the Sanyen, the Chuso, and the Tai-shiku shall go up the east steps into the shrine and sweep and clean it. (They shall enter the shrine proper by the middle door and inspect and clean first the shrine of Confucius, and then these shrines which stand to the east of it and then those which stand to the west of it, paying special attention to the cleaning of the floor). When they have finished they shall again take their proper places.

7- The Essha and all other officials now take their places outside the gate and the students entering by the South Gates shall take up their proper positions inside the gate.

8- Fifteen minutes before sunrise, the Kyoritsu-ro, and the

"On this _____ day of the _____ month _____ in the _____ year of _____, His Majesty, the Son of Heaven, has sent the President of the University, _____, of the _____ rank, humbly to inform Sensei Bunsen-no, (titles of Confucius) the man born wise, who promoted music and etiquette, who made learning and education to flourish, whose influence has lasted for thousands of years, who taught his followers by precept and example, and who made it possible for them to develop benevolence and to study literature and the arts, that he respectfully offers to him cloth, meat, and other things arranged before him according to the ancient rites and ceremonies. He also makes offerings before the shrine of his disciple Ganshi and others and begs that his sincere prayer may be granted."

Then the Tai-shiku shall stand up and the President shall make two bows. Then the music shall begin. The Tai-shiku shall then go forward and kneeling, offer the tablet before the shrine, again stand up and go back to the place where the casks are. The President shall bow again and the music shall stop.

18- The Essha shall then escort the President to the place where the wine-casks for Ganshi are. The President shall take the cups from the stand, the carrier shall take off the lid of the cask, the President shall then dip some of the sweet, unfermented wine into the cups and the music shall begin. The Essha shall escort the President to the front of the shrine of Ganshi, and there, facing north, they shall offer the wine in the cups, they then stand up, retire a few steps, and stand

Eagaku-ryo, followed by workmen, shall enter the South gate and take their places. The Essha, followed by the Vice-president, shall then take their places. The Horai-ro shall then give the command and the Vice-president shall bow twice. 9- Then the Essha, followed by the Vice-president, shall go to the east steps, go up into the shrine and clean it again, and then go back to their places. Music shall be performed during this time.

10-When the Vice-president has finished this, the Sanja shall escort all the officials and the Gak-kwan to their places. Then at the command of the Horai-ro all the officials and the students shall make two bows, those who bowed before (par.8) shall not bow this time.

11-The Essha shall then go up to the President and approaching him from the left, inform him that all the officials respectfully request him to conduct the ceremony. After saying this they shall return to their places.

12- The Kyoritsu-ro shall then kneel and pick up his baton.(In general those who pick up anything shall kneel in doing so, and those who offer anything shall kneel after offering it and they stand up again). The music shall then begin and three selections shall be played. Then the Kyoritsu-ro shall put down his baton and the music shall stop. The Horai-ro shall then give the command for two bows and all shall bow twice.

13- The two Tai-shiku shall then kneel and take the offering of cloth from the box and then stand up again. They shall then stand beside the wine-casks, after which the Essha shall

escort the President up the east steps, in at the middle door and forward to the shrine of Confucius, and then stand there facing the north. The Tai-shiku shall then enter by the middle door, go forward, carrying the offering of cloth and they turning and facing east, shall give the cloth to the President. Then the Kyoritsu-ro shall start the music. The President shall then be escorted forward to the front of the shrine of Confucius by the Essha. Here, facing north, he shall bow and worship and then they shall stand up retire a few steps and bow again.

14- The Essha shall escort the President to the front of the shrine of Ganshi, where they shall stand facing the north. The Tai-shiku shall then bring in the cloth offering by the east door, and facing, west, hand it to the President. Then the Essha shall lead the President forward to the shrine of Ganshi, where they shall bow and worship. After retiring a few steps, they shall bow again, and the music shall stop. The Essha shall then escort the President to his place and resume theirs.

15- While the President is offering the cloth, the Dai-zen-shoku shall go out and the men who arrange the offerings shall bring and arrange before the East Gate. As the President goes to his place, the Daizen-shoky shall bring in the offerings. The So shall be brought to the gate first and then the music shall begin. When the men bringing the offerings reach the steps, the music shall stop, and the offerings shall be brought up the steps. The Tai-shiku shall receive them and arrange them in front of the shrines. (One of the Tai-shiku shall go

up the west steps and arrange them in front of the shrines of Confucius, Ganshi and the four others on the east side and the other shall go up the west steps and arrange them in front of the shrines on the west side.) The lids of the Wen and the To shall be removed before they are brought up the steps. The ki and the Ho shall be offered with their lids under them. The Wen shall be placed on the right and the To on the left with the Ki and the Ho between them. The So of venison shall be placed on the right of the other vessels and the So of wild boar meat on the left of them. When these arrangements are completed the Daizen-shoku and other officials shall return to their respective places.

16- Next the Tai-shiku shall go to the place where the casks are and then they shall escort the President to the lavatory where they shall wash their hands and the wine-cups and they go up the east steps and proceed to the place where the wine-casks are set in front of the shrine of Confucius. The carriers of the casks shall take off the lids and the President shall dip some of the sweet unfermented wine into the cups and the music shall begin. Then they shall go in together by the middle door and kneeling, offer the wine before the shrine. After bowing low and retiring a few steps, they shall stand facing the shring and the music shall stop.

17- The Tai-shiku shall then take the tablet upon which the memorial is written, go forward to the right of the shrine, and after facing to the east, shall read the memorial, which shall be as follows:-

facing north. The music shall then stop. (The President shall offer the wine at the head shrine but all the others the Sairo shall assist. Those who come from the left shall come up the east steps and those who come from the right shall come up the west steps. They shall face each other before the entrance and then go in. At the next and last offering the Sairo shall assist the President in making the offering.)

19- The Tai-shiku shall bring the tablet upon which the memorial to Ganshi is written up to the left side of the shrine of Ganshi, and kneeling, down with his face to the west, shall read it. This memorial shall be as follows:-

"On this _____ day of the _____ month _____ in the _____ year of _____, his Majesty, the Son of Heaven, sends the President of the University, _____ of the _____ rank, to inform Ganshi and the other nine wise men, that on this day in the middle of spring, following the customs and regulations of ancient times, he respectfully holds a festival in honor of Confucius. These wise men followed his teachings, their virtues are higher than the Four Departments, they made his teachings brighter and caused them to flourish more, they set examples which should be followed by remote generations. He therefore, respectfully offers to them cloth, wine and other things with proper ceremonies and looks upon them as gods. May they deign to be present and accept his prayers."

The Tai-shiku shall then stand up and the President shall bow again and the music shall begin. The Tai-shiku shall then go forward and place the tablet on which the memorial is written in front of the shrine and then go back to the

place where the wine-casks are, The President shall then bow again and the music shall stop.

20- The Essha shall then lead the President to the east entrance and they shall stand facing north. Each Tai-shiku shall dip some wine into a cup. One of them shall then take his cup, stand at the left side of the President and face north. The President shall make two bows, take the cup kneel down, offer the wine before the shrine and then drink it. Then he shall raise his cup high, bow very low, and stand up.

21- The Tai-shiku, assisted by the Sairo, shall now offer the So. Kneeling down, they shall take the pork, beef and venison (the Third Joint of the Front quarter) and put them in the So. They shall also take boiled millet and rice boiled for rice-cakes and then stand up. They shall put the meat in one So and the rice in one wen. First the Tai-shiku shall hand the Wen of boiled rice to the President, who shall hand it to the Sairo and the same shall be done with the So of meat. The President shall then kneel, drink the last drop of wine in his cup, and hand the cup to the Tai-shiku, who shall place it on the cup-stand. The President shall then bow very low, stand up, make two more bows, and then the Essha shall escort him to to his place and they they shall resume theirs. Music shall be performed as they pass to their places.

22- When the President has finished this part of the ceremony, the Essha shall escort the Vice-president to the lavatory where they shall wash their hands and then the cups. Then they shall escort him up the east steps to the place of the wine casks before the shrine of Confucius. The carriers shall take off

the lid of one of the casks, the Vice-president shall fill a cup with the wine, and then the music shall begin. The Essha shall then escort him to the front of the shrine of Confucius, where he shall kneel, offer the wine and then stand up. The Essha shall then retire a few steps, face north, and make two bows. Then the Essha shall escort the Vice-president to the place of the wine casks in front of the shrine of Ganshi, where he shall take a cup from the cup-stand and fill it with wine with a dipper, the carrier of the cask taking off the lid. The Essha shall then escort him forward to the front of the shrine of Ganshi. There, facing north, he shall kneel and offer the wine, then stand up, retire a few steps, and make two bows.

23- Then the Essha shall escort him to the east entrance and they shall stand facing west. Each Taishiku shall then fill one wine-cup. Then one of them shall go forward and give his cup to the Vice-president, approaching him from the left. The Vice-president, shall make two bows as he redeives it, then kneel, offer the wine before the shrines, and drink it to the last drop. The Tai-shiku shall then redeive the cup and put it on the cup stand, and the Vice-president shall again make two bows. They shall all they go back to their places.

24- When the Vice-president has finished the offering of the wine, the Essha shall escort all the Hakase (Ph.D's) to the lavatory, where they shall wash their hands and the cups and shall dip wine into the cups as the tai-shiku did before. Then they shall go back to their places and the music shall stop.

- 25- Each Tai-shiku shall then go forward and take away one To and then go to the place where the wine-casks stand. (One To and one Hen, small ones, shall now be taken away and shall be put back in the place where they were before they were offered. The Horai-ro shall then say, "We will now distribute the meat which has been offered", and the Sanja shall repeat his words. Then all the officials shall make two bows. Those who have special rank and all students shall make two more bows. (Those who have received meat or wine shall not bow). The music shall then begin again and the Horai-ro shall give the order for two more bows. Then all who have special rank and all students shall bow twice more. The music shall then stop.
- 26- The Essha shall go forward to the left side of the President and say to him, "Please proceed to your place near the hole." They shall then escort him to that place and he shall there stand facing west. The Horai-ro and the Sanja shall proceed to the northeast side of the hole.
- 27- Before the officials of special rank shall have finished bowing, the Tai-shiku shall each take one box, put it in front of the shrine, kneel down, take the cloth which has been offered out of the box, stand up, go down the west steps, proceed to the hole and put the cloth into the hole. The Horai-ro shall then give the order to bury them and the two carpenters belonging to the East Building and the two belonging to the West Building shall fill up the hole.
- 28- The Essha shall then go to the place where the President is standing, again approaching him from the left, announce that the ceremony is over, and escort him away from the place. The

Fasha and the Sanyen shall then escort the officials and the students away from the place in their proper order.

29- When the end of the ceremony is announced, the Horai-ro, the Sanja, the Sanyen, the Chuso, and the Tai-shiku shall retire to their respective places. The Horai-ro shall then give the order and they shall bow twice. The Sanyen shall then go out and the students shall follow them in proper order.

30- The tablets upon which the memorial is written shall be burned on the grounds of the University.

11 Lectures.

When the ceremony is over all the officials shall change their uniforms in the To-do-in. The Crown Prince shall alight from his carriage outside the East Gate, enter the grounds, go up the northeast steps into the Hall and take his seat. The head of the Department of Civil Office and Education shall conduct the head officials of the various bureaus to the South Gate, where they shall stand outside of the gate. The Sangi (Counsellors of State) shall enter by the east door and take their seats. All officials below heads of bureaus shall enter the Hall as their names are called. Last of all, the Sanja, in scarlet coats and black hakama (loose trousers) shall escort the lecturer and the reader, followed by eight men in blue coats, in at the East Gate and across to the west end of the porch. There they shall face north and the Sanja shall give the order for two bows. The lecturer and the reader shall then go near the porch and bow twice, enter the Hall, and take their seats. The reader shall then read a passage from a

book and the lecturer shall explain the passage.

Next, one of the officials shall bring the Nyoi (a sort of baton) and hand it to the President. If the Emperor is not present, the President shall hand it to the Crown Prince who shall pass it on to the ministers of state, and they it shall be passed on to the officials above the fifth rank, the Wakase, and the students in proper order. If anyone wishes to ask any questions, he shall take the Nyoi when it is passed to him, go forward to a place to the south of the lecturer's seat, give his rank, office and name, bow twice, sit down and ask his questions, and the lecturers shall answer them.

When his questions have been answered, he shall put down the Nyoi and go back to his seat. All those who listen to the lectures shall be allowed to ask questions in this manner, but may not question the lecturer in other irregular ways.

When the lecture is over, they shall all go out of the Hall and the proper officials shall arrange the seats and prepare a feast. While this is being done the head of the Department of Civil Office and Education, the heads of the bureaus, and other officials shall go out of the grounds and stand just outside of the South Gate. After the preparations are finished they shall enter the Hall again and take their seats. The wine-cups shall be passed around three times and then the officials of the fifth rank and above shall stand while the others go out. Then they shall take their seats again for the feast. The head of the Department of Civil Office and Education shall lead the officials who pass out to the yard about the Hall and shall bow twice in dismissing them.

and then returns to his place in the Hall. The Hakase of literature shall proclaim the subject for a poem and all the officials who have any scholarly ability shall compose poems on this subject. While this is going on the Hakase of history law and mathematics shall superintend a debate among the students. When all have finished, the poems shall be presented to the Hakase of literature and shall be read. This being end of the meeting, they shall then all go out.

111 - General Regulations.

1- Asking questions.

When persons go up to the platform and ask questions, the order shall be as follows:- Hakase, special students of literature, ordinary students of literature, students of history, students of law, students of mathematics, and lastly all other students who have rank but no office. (Note:- Just what this means is not very clear, unless it be that many of the men in the University were really officials and these last are those who had no such position. This is hardly a satisfactory explanation, however.)

2- The Guard.

On the festival days the superintendent of police shall guard the Byo-do-in and the To-do-in (buildings of the U.) against all thieves and other evil doers.

3- Salaries.

When the lecture is over, on the festival days, salaries (or rewards) shall be distributed as follows:-

Lecture is ---Silk, six Hiki; cotton, eight and one third pounds.

Lecturers (cont)----- cotton cloth, light Tan.
 (1 Wiki equal 33 yds.)
 (1 tan " 11 ")

Readers ----- Silk, four Hiki; cotton, eight and
one third pounds.
Cotton cloth, six Tan.

Special lecturers ----- Silk, two Wiki.

4- Place of Celebration.

At the autumn festival, the chairman, the Hakase, and the leading men of the University shall go to the Palace and hold their discussion there in the Great Hall.

5- Recording of Names.

The names of all the students who take part in the festival shall be written in a book and the book presented to the head of the Department of Civil Office and Education. The names of all the culinary officers who have anything to do with the festival shall be sent to the University, and if there is any remissness in their manner of performance of their duties the University authorities shall inform the Department of the Imperial Household in regard to the matter.

6- Cushions used in the Shrines.

All cushions used in the shrines shall be aired and dried in the sun once a month during the summer.

7- Utensils and Clothes Used.

All utensils used in the ceremony, when broken, shall be buried and all uniforms, when worn out, shall be burned.

8- Books and Lecturers.

The names of the Hakase who are to lecture during any term and the names of the books which are to be used shall be sent to the Department of Civil Office and Education beforehand.

and on the first day of the term a platform shall be built in the Hall. At the proper time, the Vice-president and all the other officials and the students shall assemble there, The Hakase shall discuss together the books which they are to use and if there are places in them which they do not understand they shall mark them and send them to the Department of Civil Office and Education of the last day of the term. (Note:- This is another place which is not very clear, but this seems to be the literal meaning of the original.)

The books used shall be the following:- The Raiki and the Saden(Shun-ju) which shall be finished within sevenhundred and seventy days each; the Shurai, the Girai, the Moshi and the Ritsu, which shall be finished within four hundred and eighty days; the Shosho, the Rongo, the Ryo, which shall be finished within two hundred days each; and the Kokyo, which shall be finished within sixty days. The Sanshi and the Monzen shall each be allowed the same time as the greater classics seven hundred and seventy days.

The Kuro, the Kokuryo, the Sonshi, the Goso, the Kyusho, the Rikusho, and the Teigutsu shall each be finished in the time allotted for one of the lesser classics, three hundred and ten days. The Sankai, the Jusha, the Shohai, the Kaito, and the Kyushi shall also be finished within the same length of time.

9- Regular Salaries.

All Hakase who deliver lectures shall be given the following allowances daily:-

Rice -----Three quarts.

Wine -----One and one half quarts.

Salt -----One sixth of a quart.

Sea-car -----One ounce.

Fish -----Two ounces.

Edible Sea-weed ---One half an ounce.

Oil for lighting--One sixth of a quart.

After a book has been finished, the following rewards of money shall be given to the lecturers:-

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|--------------------|---------------|
| For one of the greater classics | ----- | Thirty Kwan (3000) | |
| " " " " medium | " | ----- | Twenty " Cash |
| " " " " lesser | " | ----- | Ten " |
| " the Rongo (Analects) | ----- | Ten | " |
| " " Kokoyo(Book of Filial Piety)-- | | Ten | " |

For the purpose of rewards to the lecturers, the Ryo, the Sonshi, the Goso, the Kyusho, the Taijutsu, the Sankai, the Sankaigusha, the Shuhai, the Kaito, and the Kyushi are to be ranked as lesser classics and the Sanshi, the Monzen and the Ritsu as greater classics.

For every three years the Department of Civil Office and Education shall furnish to each Hakase four yellow cushions four pieces of straw matting, and twenty-eight pieces of long matting.

IV. Regulations for students.

1- If a student has been in the University for nine years and is not able to make progress, his name shall be sent to the Department of Civil Office and Education and he shall be dismissed from the University. However, this punishment may be lessened if he shows some promise of ultimate success.

2- Four students of the College of Ethics and the Science of Government, two students of the College of Composition and History, two students of the College of Law, and two students of the College of Mathematics shall be given the following supplies yearly:-

Silk -----One Hiki (22 yards)
 Cotton Cloth ----- " Tan (11 yards)
 Winter silk ----- Two Hiki
 Cotton ----- Three and one third pound
 Other cotton cloth -- Two Tan.

The students of Chinese learning as well as the teachers of this branch shall be given the following supplies yearly:

Summer Silk ----- Fifteen yards.
 Winter " ----- One Tan.
 Cotton ----- Three and one third
 pounds.

These students, who receive these allowances shall be entitled to remain in the University for seven years after they have finished the regular course. They shall be examined by the Hakase and reports of their work sent to the government. (Students coming from the provinces shall be given the same allowances as these men).

4- When a student enters the University, his name shall be entered on the roll and this roll shall be called every day.

5- Students who wish to enter shall be taken to the University by some official and shall there be examined by a Hakase. After that they shall be subject to no official oversight or guidance. They shall be examined in this way no

matter how many years they have studied, and only those who have mastered at least one book shall be allowed to enter. Those who are sons of grandsons of men of the fifth rank or higher, however, shall not be required to pass any examination for entrance.

6- The students of the College of Ethics and the Science of Government shall study at least three books, one greater, one medium, and one lesser classic; those of the College of Composition and History shall study the laws of China and Japan and the Imperial edicts of both countries; and those of the College of Mathematics shall study the Ritsu, Rekishi (almanac making) the Tai-en-reki-gi, The Kyusho, the Rokusho, the Shuhai and the Teiten-ron.

Lectures on these books shall be given by the Professors in each department. Wakase from the provincial schools shall sometimes be appointed to deliver special lectures before the students. In such a case they shall receive an amount equal to one tenth of their regular salary as extra pay.

7- The Gimonjo students (Men who were waiting for vacancies in the ranks of the regular Monjo students, in order to be able to enter) shall be examined twice a year and if they are all poor in their work, only one tenth of them shall be allowed to remain.

8- After a man has graduated from the University, and has been appointed to a position, he shall, through the medium of the tax office, send to the University one tenth of his rice allowance (exchanged for lighter goods) to be used in paying

the salaries of the professors. If anyone shall refuse to do this, he shall be punished, but all graduates who have no positions are to be exempted from this payment.

9- The Gimonjo students shall be given entrance examinations to the work of regular Monjo men twice a year, in the spring and in the fall. Those who pass shall become regular Monjo men. (Note:- This seems odd, but it may have been in a case when there were more vacancies than could be filled by men who passed).

10- The limit of the number of the Gimonjo students shall be twenty. The candidates for entrance shall be examined by a Hakase as follows:- The Hakase shall give them five questions from some book on Chinese history. If they are able to answer three or more they shall be considered to have passed. Those who do not pass shall not be allowed to enter this course.

11- All Candidates for positions shall be examined by Tokugyo-rei and Monjo students who are specialists in the work in which the examination is to be held. If the candidates are able to answer three out of five questions they shall be considered to have passed. All students of writing and pronunciation shall be examined by a Hakase. Students of the Colleges of Composition and History, of Law and of Mathematics, if they have passed the University examinations shall not be examined further before being allowed to take positions.

12- The Hakase and students shall be given the following daily allowances for oil:-

Hakase of the College of Ethics and the Science
 of Government -----Twenty Mon.(20 Cash)
 Other Hakase -----Fifteen Mon.
 Assistant Professors -----Ten "
 Students -----Five "

This expense shall be met by means of the income from a tract of land in the province of Echigo, fifty cho (one hundred and twentyfive acres) in extent, appropriated for this purpose by the government.

13- In case any Hakase shall die suddenly, leaving no money for funeral expenses, the University shall appropriate funds for that purpose and the government, shall contribute to the funds also.

14- Hakase who are teaching in the Provincial schools shall be paid according to the number of days which they teach, which shall be reckoned up when the official representative of the Department of Civil Office and Education shall visit the province.

15- The books in the library of the University shall not be lent to any person who is not either a student or an instructor of some kind in the University.

16- Every three years the books in the library shall be taken out and aired by the students of the University.

17- There shall be three lists or catalogues of the books in the library, one of which shall be kept in the office of the Department of Civil office and Education, and one shall be kept by the Kagoi-yushi (a government official)

Note:-The third was probably kept in the library.)

18- A doctor of medicine shall be appointed who shall attend to the medical needs of the students and professors of the University. He shall remain in the University all the time, even at night.

19- All students who wish to be examined in pronunciation shall be taken to the head office of the Buddhist religion and by a Hakase and shall be examined in their pronunciation of Chinese in that place.

20 Two of those who are waiting for vacancies to occur in order to become students of history shall be taken care of by the officials of their own provinces, and as vacancies occur, may enter upon the work for which they have waited.

21. One ordinary carpenter and another from the province of Hida shall be employed to make the repairs about the University buildings. The pavement in the court of the To-do-in and that beside the same building shall be kept in repair by the Department of Civil Office and Education and the Department of Revenue and the Census.

22- The interest on the value of fifty-four thousand bundles of rice, in easily portable materials, shall be sent in for the support of the University, for buying rice and other necessities for the students, from the province of Hitachi, The interest on the value of ten thousand bundles each of the provinces of Omi, Etchu, Bizen, and Lyo shall be sent in and used in the same way. If these amounts are not paid in as they should be, they shall be collected

for the University by the government.

The interest in the value of eight hundred bundles of rice in the province of Tango shall be used for the purpose of buying other food besides rice for the students.

23. All teachers and other officials of the University shall receive their allowances of rice directly from the government on the twenty-fifth of each month for the following month. The amounts appropriated for any office which is vacant may be used for other purposes by the authorities of the University if they so choose.

24- The mats in the buildings of the University shall be changed at the rate of ten long mats (three by twelve feet) every three years.

25- The income from the following lands appropriated for the University shall be used for the students' support:

(a) Eighteen cho, four Tan, and two hundred Bu in the province of Etchu Tonami County. (One cho equals two and one half acres). Of this thirteen Cho, two Tan, and forty Bu is good land and five Cho, two Tan, and one hundred and sixty Bu is Barren land.

(b) Seventeen Chox and one hundred Bu in the Province of Harima, is the county of Unan. Of this five Cho, two Tan, and two hundred and eighty eight Bu is good land; nine Cho, seven Tan, and two hundred and fifty-two Bu in another tract is barren land.

(c) Seven Cho in the province of Yamashiro in the county of Kuse.

26. One Cho of the land in Yamashiro Province shall be used for raising vegetables for the students. Another tract of land belonging to the University, situated in the city of Kyoto, shall be used partly for residences for the Tokugyosei (fellows) and the remainder for the purpose of producing vegetables for them.

27- The salt needed by the students shall be sent by the governor of the province. The interest on one thousand bundles of the rice due to the University in taxes from that province shall be used for the purpose of paying for this salt.

Appendix VII.

The Katakana and Kiragana, the Japanese Phonetic Characters.

The Japanese written language has two general forms of written characters besides the system of ideographs borrowed from China. These are called the Katakana and the Hiragana. The first is a sort of square form, corresponding roughly to the printed form of our Roman letters. The Japanese alphabet, in the phonetic arrangement of the characters, written in this form looks like this.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| n. | wa. | ra. | ya. | ma. | ha. | na. | ta. | sa. | ka. | a |
| | wi. | ri. | yi. | mi. | hi. | ha. | ti. | si. | ki. | i |
| | wu. | ru. | yu. | mü. | hu. | nu | tu. | su. | ku. | u |
| | we. | re. | ye. | me. | he. | ne | te. | se. | ke. | e |
| | wo. | ro. | yo. | mo. | ho. | no | to. | so | ko. | o |

These characters are derived from the ideographs by taking parts of them. These are the ones also which rose in the work of the Buddhist priests in making the Chinese books easier for Japanese students to read. (See page 11 of the appendix). For an example of how they were derived compare the ideograph " " read "i", with the first character at the top of the right-hand column, read in the same way.

The Hiragama characters are simply abbreviated forms of the ideographs the abbreviation being done by simplifying the strokes both in number and complexity. There are two or three or even more Hiragana characters for each syllable, each derived from a different ideograph but with the same sound. One of the most common forms is that given below:-

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|----|----|
| n. | wa. | ra. | ya. | ma. | ha. | na. | ta. | sa | ka |
| Wi. | ri. | yi. | mi. | hi. | ni. | chi. | shi | ki | |
| wu. | ru. | yu. | mu. | hu. | nu. | tsu. | su | ku | |
| we. | re. | ye. | me. | he. | ne. | te. | se | ke | |
| wo | ro. | yo. | mo. | ho. | no. | to. | so. | ko | |
| a. | i. | u. | e. | o. | | | | | |

The abbreviations were made in different ways for different characters for example, " " is from " " where the whole right-hand part of the ideograph is abbreviated to a small dot. " " is from " " a very easily

recognized relation. The Origin of some is not so easily traced, although they all have the same origin, the desire to cut down the work of writing.

Appendix VIII.

The Japanese Alphabet in the form in which it was put by Kobo Daishi, called the I-ro-ha.

The syllables as they stand separately, are as follows:-

I ro ha ni ho he to

Chi ri nu ru wo wa ka

Yo ta ra so tsu ne na

Ba mu u (w)i no o ku

Ya ma ke fu ko (y) e te

A sa ki yu me mi shi

(w)e hi mo se su

"Iro wa nioedo,

Chirinuro wo-

Waga yo tare zo

Tsune ni Naranu?

Ui no oku-yama

Kyo koete,

Asaki yume mishi,

Ei mo sezu."

The meaning is:- "Though their hues are gay, the blossoms flutter down, and so in this world of our who may continue forever? Having today crossed the mountain-fastness of existence, I have seen but a fleeting dream, with which I am not intoxicated."

Appendix IX.

The Proclamation of Kobo Daishi, Issued at the
Time of the Opening of the So-gei-shu-chi-in.

In the left section of the city of Kyoto, in the ward of Kujo, there is an estate which once belonged to Lord Fujiwara. It comprises five acres of land, and upon this land there are five buildings. On the east side in the free dispensary; on the west side is the sacred Shingon Temple, on the south side are calm, quiet, open fields; and on the north side are the busy streets of the capital. Within the grounds there is a sparkling fountain from which flows a winding stream.

When the gentle breezes blow we can hear their music in the pines and the Bamboos; when it rains we may look at the rich embroidery of the plum and the willow; here the birds gather in spring and the wild ducks come in the winter. From one who will rest here, heat and thirst will pass away, and a delightful coolness will envelope him. To the north is the great Byak-ko road and on the south is the Shijaku Pond. Why should either priest or layman go to the mountains when he may find like recreation in company with his fellow beings in this delightful place?

I have long had a secret wish, a wish to establish a school in which the three great branches of learning shall be taught, and thus my fellow being be bettered. When I spoke but one word of this to the great Lord, he answered me with this munificent gift, to be used for this purpose

forever. So, even without the golden sheet of Kyuko, I received this great estate with its groves and its fountains.

My great desire having been fulfilled, I chose the name of So-gei-shu-chi-in for this school and I decree that it shall be conducted on the following principles:-

The nine schools of learning and the six arts (Note: Manners, music, archery, horsemanship, penmanship, and mathematics are meant by this expression) are the means by which the world advances. The knowledge of the ten directions and of the five lights are the only things that are of profit to mankind. By the study of these things, the Nyorai reached their high state of enlightenment; the sages of the ten directions, having mastered them, proved their own omniscience.

One flavor does not make a dish pleasant to the taste, nor does one sound make harmony. Real success in life and in governing nations is found in judging of life and death by the teachings of the Vedas and in seeking emancipation in Nirvana. If we do not accept this doctrine, to what teaching shall we turn?

For this reason the sage emperors and wise men of the past built temples and established schools in accordance with this principle, and thus made the truth known to the people. But Ho of Hi and Ho of Ka merely trifle with the sacred books; Mo of Kwai and Ren of Jo buried themselves in secular learning; even Yo and Dei do not penetrate into the real meaning of the books of the three teachings and of the five lights. But even though other men have not been able to succeed, and though

I myself am unworthy, I now establish this So-gei-shu-chi-in in which the three teachings shall all have equal rank, and I invite all earnest and able men to join me in this enterprise. And I hope that these three celestial robes (the three teachings) may so shine that they may light the labyrinthine streets of human ignorance, and that the five means of salvation all working together, may drive the common people into the garden of salvation.

Some have said that these things were done by the sages of old and that their labor brought no results. The Bibokusha school and the Untei of Seki-na-gon started boldly but came to nothing. Both students and teachers are gone from them and the places where they stood are profaned.

To those who think thus I would say that the prosperity or decadence of things always depends upon men, and the rise and fall of men is always decreed according to law. The great ocean is the deeper for the rivers which flow into it; Mt. Somei (Note:-A Mt. in Hindu is mythology) seems the higher because of the numberless hills about its foot; a great building is supported by innumerable beams; great monarchs are supported by their hundreds of subjects; things which are in groups cannot be overwhelmed, but those which stand alone are liable to fall. This is the law of nature.

Now as one great man has conferred all these benefits upon us, I would that the three great ministers of state might unite their powers, join with the noble and the wise of all the great families of our benefactor and with the learned priests of all the great families of our benefactor and with

the learned priests of all the great sects of our religion, and take up this enterprise. Should they do this, our school would be established upon foundations that would endure forever.

In the face of all this, my critics must admit that I am in the right.

But still others are saying that the government is establishing schools everywhere, and is encouraging learning and the arts. They ask us what need there is of our feeble mosquito buzz when there is a thunder storm going on.

To these critics I would say that in the kingdom of the great Tao (China) there is a school in every street of the capital and one in every district in the provinces. And because of this, that land has no lack of able men. But in our capital there is but one school, a university, and there are no lower schools; the children of the poor and the lowly have no place to go to seek learning. Moreover, those desirous of learning, who live far from the capital, weary themselves with their long journeys to and from their homes. Therefore I am establishing this school for all the people. Is it not right that I should do so?

Again my critics must admit that I am right, and say "Yes", it is the best thing that you can do. Your school will rival the sun and the moon in its brightness, and the heavens and the earth in its immutability. Though we are poor and foolish, we will aid you with all our strength."

Invitation to Masters.

In the Analects of Confucius it is written;-

"It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence

of a neighborhood. If a man, in selecting a residence, do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?

And again it is written;-

"Let relaxation and enjoyment be found in the six polite arts."

In the sacred books (of Buddhism) it is written;-

"In the beginning the Ajari (higher Priests) mastered all sorts of polite arts."

In the commentary on these books we find the following words;-

"The Bosatsu, in order to accomplish Bodai (salvation) first sought the law in the five bright places."

For these reasons, young men who could do so, went around to one hundred and ten cities and sought for fifty masters. Moreover, the weeping Bosatsu, (Jotei) wept constantly in one castle and sought after the Deeper Law. Therefore the place where we should seek virtue is the place in which virtuous men are living; the way to obtain salvation is to study the Law of the Five Lights: The way to know the Law is to learn from many masters; and one must have food and clothing in order to learn thus. When all these conditions are satisfied, the proper results are sure. I therefore establish this school in order to fulfill these four conditions; for the benefit of all mankind.

Moreover, though there be places for learning, and though there be a law, if there be no teachers no one can learn. Therefore I invite teachers to join me in this enter-

rise.

There are two classes of teachers whom I would invite to join me. The one I call the clerical and the other I will call the lay teachers. The clerical teachers or clergy include all those who teach the Law of Buddha and the lay teachers are those who teach secular books. But let us follow the Master's motto, "The clergy and the laity should never be separated, the one from the other."

The Work of the Clerical Teachers.

The Mitsu (the sacred part of Buddhism, kept secret, and supposed to be known only to the higher orders of the priest) and the Ken (the material which is supposed to be known by all the clergy and to some extent may be taught to the laity) are both to be taught by and to the clergy only. But if there be those among the laity who have already mastered the secular books, and who wish to study the sacred writings, the priests shall teach them also, diligently, according to the four measures and the four restraints, (i.e. according to their capacity) and shall do so in such a way as not to be tiresome to their students. There should be no distinction in this matter between men of high and men of low rank.

The Work of the Lay Teachers.

The lay teachers shall teach the books on the nine moral codes, the nine schools of learning, the three elements, the three histories, the seven dynasties, and seven shorter

histories, composition and rhetoric, penmanship, pronunciation, reading and translation. Every book or scroll, however small, contains something that will enlighten the young. If any priests wish to study these subjects, they shall be taught the books of Mosai or Koren, according to their ability. If any young persons wish to learn rhetoric or writing, men who are masters of those arts should be their teachers, and should direct their thoughts toward loyalty and filial piety. They should take no account of rank or wealth, nor should they cause the lessons to be wearisome to the students. They should strive to make them hear the voice of Buddha, sounding like the roaring of a lion throughout the three worlds. They should cause them to appreciate the stories of the ancient sages, who are but our brothers, as are all within the four seas.

Appeal for Teachers and Support.

If a man is not such a hermit as to be satisfied with only a gourd, his life depends upon his food and his shelter, as Confucius has said. Moreover, as our Lord, Buddha has said, "If you wish a man to accept your teachings, you must first satisfy his material needs."

I appeal, therefore, to all teachers who are of the same mind as I, whether clergymen or laymen, to offer their services for this enterprise, and I also appeal to all persons of means to give us the support we need. Priests are necessarily poor, and therefore, even though we do not know how much we shall need, there are certain things which we must have.

So if there are any persons desirous of becoming benefactors not only of the nation, but of all mankind, and who wish to save themselves from this world of illusions, let them come and give us of their earthly treasures, which are in reality but dust, and thus aid us in our great enterprise. Those who respond to this appeal will become, with Buddha, benefactors of all mankind.

Done on this, the fifteenth day of the twelfth month in the fifth year of the period of Tencho (828 A.D.)

Signed -----Kukai Daizoku. *

(Note:- Kukai is the real name of the man, and Daizoku is his title, a near equivalent to our English work Archbishop.)

Appendix X.

The four classics, or four books as they are sometimes called, (Japanese, Shi-sho; Chinese, and Four Shu) are:-

| Japanese name | Chinese name | English |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1- Ron-go ----- | Lun-Yu ----- | Analects. |
| 2- Dai-gaku ----- | Ta Hoo ----- | Great Learning |
| 3- Chu-yo ----- | Chung Yung ----- | Doctrine of the Mean. |
| 4- Moshi ----- | Mencius ----- | Works of Mencius. |

The five classics, (Japanese, Go-kyo; Chinese, the five king) are:-

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1-Eki-kyo ----- | Yih King ----- | Book of Changes |
| 2-Sho-kyo ----- | Shu King ----- | Book of History |
| 3-Shi-kyo ----- | Shih King ----- | Book of Odes |
| 4- Raiki ----- | Li Ki ----- | Book of Rites |

The Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean are both found in the Book of Rites, the former being the former being the forty-second and the latter the thirty-first chapter in that book.

Appendix XI.

Program of the Shohai Zaka School or University.

| Day of Mo. | Place. | Lesson. | Teachers. | Students. |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| 1, 2, 6, 7. | School Room | Morals.
Lectures &
Recitn's. | Head Teacher.
Other " s. | All except
pure day
students. |
| Every day | Hatamoto S,
Dormitory | Morals | Head Teacher
Other " s.
Occasional " | Hatamoto
students
Day Stu. |
| 4, 9, | Hatamoto N.
Dormitory &
Hall. | Morals
Lectures
only. | Ordinary teachers
Occasional " | Hatamoto
students
of 3000
koko income
& attendants
Other H. men
could at-
tend. |
| Every day | Hall in front
of shrine | Lects. on
the four
classics | Occasional
teachers. | Gen'l public
Admitted by
care or
ticket. |
| 3 days a
month | Teachers'
Residences. | Expounding
by
Students | Ordinary
teachers | Non-Hata-
moto
students |
| Twice a
year | Class rooms | Competi-
tive.
Poetry
Meeting | Ordinary
teachers | All ex-
cept day
students. |
| four times
a year | Class rooms | Competitive
Composition
Meeting | Occasional
Teachers | All ex-
cept Day
Students. |

Appendix X11.

The Nine Commandments of Hakuseki.

1- Thou shalt have consideration for they parents, brothers, sisters, husband, wife, relatives and even servants. If thou are a servant, thou shalt be faithful to thy master.

2- Thou shalt not be slothful in business or work, nor shalt thou live beyond they means.

3- Thou shalt not utter a falsehood, say any unpleasant thing, or injure any person in any way whatsoever.

4- Thou shalt not quarrel; thou shalt also flee away when others quarrel; and thou shalt not conceal him who has been wounded in a quarrel.

5- Thou shalt not gamble.

6- Thou shalt not shoot with a gun; thou shalt also report to the proper authorities anyone known to have done this thing. If thou fail to report him thus, thou shalt be punished severely.

7- Thou shalt report to the proper authorities all thieves and other criminals who may be known to thee. If thou doest this, thou shalt be rewarded.

8- Thou shalt not join thyself to those who gather to see the execution of criminals.

9- Thou shalt not buy or sell they fellow-man as a slave. If thou be an apprentice, thou shalt labor diligently and faithfully.

Appendix Xl11.

Thrakoya Textbooks.

1- The one thousand Character Essay

11- The Doji Kyo or Teaching for the young.

If thou be seated in the presence of a superior, thou must not rise up abruptly; if thou meet him in the street, thou shouldst bend the knee and pass on.

If he summon thee, listen with deference, turning towards him with both hands folded on thy breast: respectfully and not looking rough to the right or to the left.

If he ask nothing, do thou answer nothing: but if he address thee, then listen with reverence.

To the Precious Triad (Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood) make the full three-fold obeisance, and worship twice before the shinto Gods; to men make single obeisance, but thy teacher and thy lord shalt thou lift up to thine head.

Be reverent when thou goest past a grave, alight from thine horse when thou goest past a Shinto shrine; when thou art near a Buddhist temple or pagodo, thou must not commit any unclean act; when thou art reading the sacred writings, thou must not do anything unseemingly.

In the relations of men there is decorum; at the court there must be laws; if men be without decorum, there will likewise be transgressions among the multitude.

When thou art in the throng, speak not indiscriminately and go away as soon as they business is over, let nothing lead thee into breaking faith with thy friends, and depart not from they word.

The man of many words is poor in deeds; he is like unto an avaricious dog that barketh at his companion; the idle man is eager for his food; he is like unto a tired ape, greedy for fruit.

The bold man will surely fall into danger; he is like unto an insect that flieth into a flame in summer: The simple man shall not err; he like unto a bird disporting itself among the woods in spring.

Human ears are listening at the wall; speak no calumny even in secret: Human eyes are looking from the heavens; commit no wrong, however hidden.

A chariot with its linch-pin three inches long, will accomplish a journey of a thousand miles: man, with his tongue three inches long, may ruin his body that is five feet in height.

* * * * *

Calamity and prosperity have no gate; they are there only whither men invite them: from the evils sent by heaven there is deliverance; from the evils we cause ourselves there is no escape.

In the house where virtue is accumulated there will surely be a superabundance of joy: again, in the place where vice is delighted in, there will surely be a superabundance of misfortunes.

* * * * *

To see the chariot that is in front overturned, is a warning to the chariot that is behind: not to forget what went before, is a lesson what followeth after.

When a man dieth, he leaveth his name; when a tiger
dieth it leaveth its skin.

* * * * *

When thou enterest a village, conform to that village:
when thou meetest with a custom, conform to that custom.

* * * * *

The fool taketh no thought about what is distant,
but he shall find sorrow near at hand: he is as one that
should scan the heavens through a tube, he is like unto one
that should dig the earth with a needle.

* * * * *

He whose heart hath many desires, though he be rich,
must be called poor: he whose heart's only desire is content-
ment, though he be poor, must be called rich.

* * * * *

A disciple that will not obey instruction should be
swiftly sent back to his father and mother: an uncouth lad,
whom thou attemptest to soften, will become an enemy, and
increase thy calamities.

* * * * *

He that imitiateth good companions is like unto the
mugwort which, growing among the hemp, is straight: he that
is familiar with evil companions is like unto the bramble that,
growing in the thicket, is crooked.

* * * * *

He that has taught thee for one day must not be
lightly treated; how much more he that hath taught thee for
many years: thou art sworn to thy teacher for three lives;

thou art bound to thy parents for one life.

* * * * *

Rise early in the morning, and wash thy hands;
collect thy mind and recite the scrolls of the scriptures:
lay thee down late at night, and bathe thy feet; compose
thy spirit, and meditate on the morning.

* * * * *

Drunkenness maketh the heart mad, satiety maketh the
man weary of study: warmth increaseth drowsiness, comfort
causeth sloth.

* * * * *

Su C'hin, for the sake of studying stuck an awl
against his side that he might not sleep: Chun Ching, for the
sake of studying, tied a rope around his neck that he might
not sleep.

* * * * *

Though the sins committed by the wise man be great,
he shall not fall into Hell: though the sins committed by
the fool be small, he shall surely fall into Hell.

* * * * *

He that receiveth benefits and is not grateful, is
like unto the birds that despoil the branches of the trees
they perch on: he that is the object of favors is not grate-
ful, is like unto the deer that ravate the grass of the fields
they dwell in.

When Yu Meng struck his father, lightning from heaven
rent him asunder: when Pan Fu reviled her mother a wondrous

serpent bit her to death.

* * * * *

Yeng Tsung, weeping among the bamboos, picked sprouts from beneath the deep snow: Wang Siang weeping, struck ice and fishes leaped to the hard surface.

* * * * *

Tung Yung sold his body, making it an honorable instrument of filial piety: Yang Wei thought of his lonely mother and when he wept before the tiger he was left unharmed.

* * * * *

Life, with birth and death, is not enduring, and ye should hasten to yearn after Nirvana: the body, with its passions, is not pure, and ye should swiftly search after intelligence.

* * * * *

Long life is like unto the Mayfly, - born in the morning and dying at eve: our bodies are like unto the plantain leaf, - flapping in the breeze and easily torn to pieces.

* * * * *

Even in the pearly palace of the Heaven of Indra there is mourning over change and dissolution: even in the lofty halls of the Heaven of Brahma, there is grief for fire, blood and sword.

* * * * *

Above all things, men must practise charity: it is by almsgiving that Wisdom is fed: less than all things, men must grudge money; it is by riches that Wisdom is hindered.

The first thing needful is to search after the Buddhist Path, the next thing is gratitude for the four benefits; the last thing is, extending thy care to every one of the Six Paths, to practise the Buddhist Path in concert with them.

For guidance of the young, I have commented on the doctrine of Retribution, drawing both from the Inner and Outer Canons: let not those that read contemn these teaching, let not those that hear, deride them.

APPENDIX XIV.

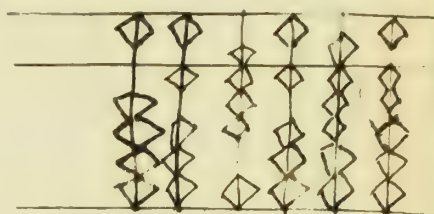
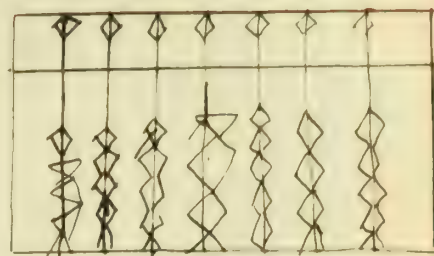
Samples of the Different Styles of Writing.

The three columns of characters below are each of them made up of the first four characters of the One Thousand Character Essay. The one on the left is in the running style, the middle one in the semi-running style, and the right hand one is in the square style, used very little in work with the pen or writing brush. The running and the semi-running styles run into each other so that there is no sharp line of demarcation between them as there is between them and the square style.

APPENDIX XV.

The Soroban or Abacus.

There are two or three forms of this instrument, but the one in common use in China and Japan is constructed as shown in Figure 1. The upper row of buttons or counters represents five units for each button, while the lower ones represent one unit for each button. The upper one count only when they are pulled down against the cross bar, and the lower ones count only when they are pushed up against it. Each of the upright bars represents a place in the



decimal system, beginning at the right with the units. Thus the number of Figure 2 is 19182. Of course the units need not necessarily be represented by the buttons of the first upright bar unless there are ciphers to the right of the last significant figure, nor is the number of these upright bars fixed in any way, for the banker in his work needs more columns than the school boy or the clerk in the small shop. On this little instrument we can perform all the four fundamental operations of arithmetic and extract roots as well and perform other processes if they are not too complicated. A short explanation of the processes of addition and subtraction may make the uses of this machine of universal popularity in the East, a little more clear.

Addition.

Suppose we have two numbers to be added together on one of these machines, say 6753 and 4279. We will begin by indicating the first number on the instrument as in Fig. 1. Commencing now with the left hand figure of our second number we have to add six and four. Since six and four are ten, this will mean a one in the next higher column and the instrument will look as shown in Figure 2.

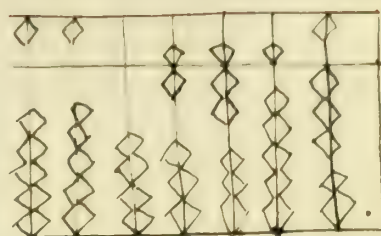


Fig. 1.

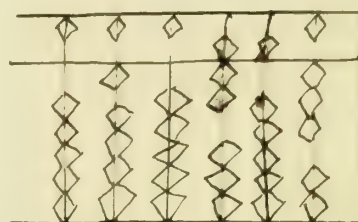


Fig. 2.

Next we must add two to the seven, which we do by slipping two buttons on the lower part of the upright bar up against the ones next to the cross-bar, and thus we have Fig. 3.

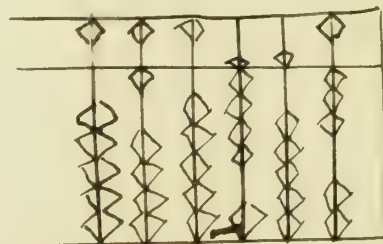


Fig. 3.

Now we must add seven to the five. This is the most complicated move of all. We first bring up two of the lower buttons and thus add two to the five already there, as in Fig. 4. To add the five more we must add one in the next higher place and then push up the upper

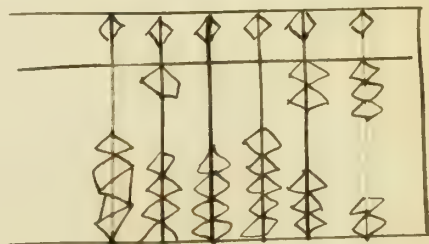
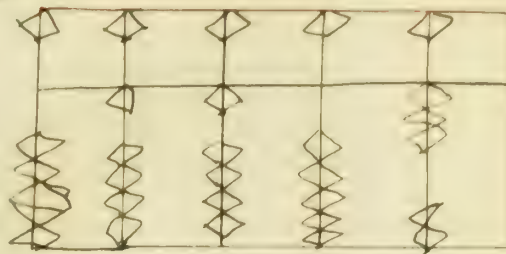


Fig. 4.

in the column whiwe are not consider
ing. But when we do this we make
the third column, the hundreds, go
above nine, and we must carry one
over into the next column still,
and so we have Fig. 5.



Last of all we have nine
to be added to the three in the first
column. We can do this easily by
adding one to the tens column and
subtracting one from the units.
After doing this we have Fig. 6,
which reads 11032, which is the sum
of the two numbers with which we
started. A person who is quick in the use of such an instru-
ment can add such numbers in this way almost as fast as an
ordinary person usually reads them and with great accuracy as
well.

Subtraction

Suppose we have to subtract
276 from 529. We first indicate the
minuend on the abacus, as in Fig. 1.
We may begin from either end in this
case, but from the right is the bet-
ter way at least for us. To take six
from nine we push the upper button up
and pull down one lower one, leaving
the abacus as shown in Figure 2.

Next we must subtract seven from two, a thing which we cannot do. Therefore we will subtract ten and add three, i.e. we will take away one from the hundreds column and add three to the tens. This leaves us with the instrument as in Fig. 3.

Last of all , in taking two from four, we need only to pull two of the lower buttons down and our process is ended and we have our result, 253, the difference of the two numbers as shown in Fig. 4. .

Appendix XVI.

Construction of Polygons.

If we take a line A.C as a unit of length, and erect upon it at its center a perpendicular line BD of the height, $\frac{\sqrt{3}}{2}$, and connect the point B with A and C, the figure ABC will be an equilateral triangle.

Going on, if BD equals $\frac{1}{2}$ ABC becomes one half of a square, which may be completed by drawing the other half of the diagonal BD, prolonging it to E, and drawing

the lines AE and CE.

If BD equals .363271, then ABC is a part of a regular pentagon, two sides and one angle of which being given, the figure may be easily completed .

This same process was repeated up to pentadecagons.

Appendix XVII.

Example from the Kanja Otogo Seshi, or Mathematical Recreations.

The method of calculating the amount of water necessary in Boiling Rice.

For one and one half Sho (One Sho equals three pints) of rice use 1.9375 Sho of water, this amount is calculated in the following manner:-

$$\frac{1.5 \times 922}{8} = 1.9375$$

Just where the nine, the two and the eight come from and why they are used in this was is left unsolved, the pupils being expected to take that much on faith, But even after this careful and minute calculation, the problem states that after all the amount of water used must depend somewhat on the state of the fire. The problem ends with the following poem of thirty-one syllables, supposed to contain general directions for cooking the rice in the proper manner:-

The End.

cooking.

the crackling of the charcoal in the little brazier used for which represent the sound of blowing or fanning the fire and choro" and Kwak-kwa, are the onomatopoeic words in Japanese should you take off the cover of the pot. The words "Choro-

a good lively manner and under no circumstances whatever

pair of bellows or fanning it. Then it should crackle in

really eatable, you must start your fire by blowing it with a

The meaning is that if you would have your rice

"Don't take off the lid"

Even if your parents die."

Then crackle, crackle,

Begin 'puff, puff',

"If you wish to eat,

A literal translation of this would be:-

Futa we taru na."

Oya wa shinu tomo,

Naka Kwak-kwa,

Hajime choro-choro,

"Kuitakuba,

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 IX - The Way of the Mean ----- "
 X- The Teaching for the Young ----- Chamberlain.

Other books, both English and Japanese have been used occasionally for special reference, but the ones enumerated here are really the only ones from which any amount of material has been gathered.

P.A.S.

CHAPTER 1.

From the Earliest Days to the Coming of Chinese Learning.

This period may be divided into two parts, the first one including the time from the earliest ages to the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Sujin (97 to 30 B.C.) and the second covering the years from this time to about 285 A.D., when Chinese learning first entered Japan by way of Korea. The reason for this division of the time is the fact that the emperor mentioned, Sujin, was a most enlightened and progressive ruler, and that during his reign such strides were made in the way of progress as to warrant our placing the years of his reign and those which followed it in a separate category from those which preceded it.

Section 1- From earliest times to 97 B.C.

During this period the nation was in a very low state of civilization. There were no written records and the legendary materials which have come down to us from this time have to be very thoroughly sifted in order to gain the few grains of truth which they contain from the masses of legendary chaff in which they are embedded. The most of these legends are found in the two earliest books which have been preserved to us, the Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters) completed in 712 A. D. and the Nihongi, a similar work completed in 730 A.D. Our only other sources of information are oral traditions, the few customs still in existence which can be traced back to the dawn of history, and relics left in burial mounds, kitchen

middens, and other like places. Putting together the information gathered from these various sources, we may make a fairly correct estimate of the state of the civilization to which this people had attained at that time.

In the first place, they were immigrants, having come from the continent in, at least, two streams, one of which probably came from South China or thereabouts, and landed in Kyushu, while the other, coming by way of Korea, landed somewhere on the north-west coast of the main island. The former were probably the stronger people of the two, for they ultimately became the dominant race and it is with them that most of our early material deals.

They must have had some knowledge of ships and ship-building, for they came by sea and the traditional account tells us that the Kyushu conquerors proceeded in boats from that island to some place near the present site of the city of Osaka. Shortly after this landing on the main island, the first Japanese emperor, Jimmu, established his seat of government at Kashiwabara, not far from the place where he had landed. This event took place, according to Japanese chronology, in 660 B.C. The followers of this emperor, or more properly chief, composed the main Japanese or Yamato race, and were under a sort of tribal or patriarchal form of government. The emperor Jimmu, as he is called, was probably simply the first chief who had strength enough to bring all, or at least a great number of the lesser tribes and chiefs into subjection to a central authority. His government was, as we have said,

patriarchal, but bore some resemblance to feudalism. This was the way in which the country was ruled until sometime in the seventh century, when a government on the Chinese model superseded the elder forms.

From the time of the Emperor Jimmu they seem to have been more or less settled in their modes of life and had a fair knowledge of agriculture. They knew how to raise rice, wheat, beans, two kinds of millet, and some other crops, and they had the dog, cow, and horse as domestic animals. They had some way of smelting metals, though stone implements were common. Their weapons for war and the chase were bows and arrows, spears, swords, and clubs of the rudest sort. They may have known something of the art of weaving, but if they did any of this work it was of the rudest kind for their records and other things as well indicate that they had only a rough sort of grass cloth at this time,

They seem to have been a brave people, though not so warlike as the tribes which had preceded them in the occupation of the islands and the ancestors of the Ainu of Hokkaido of the present day. One of their early poems contains the words, "It is said that an Ainu is a match for a hundred men---!" They were however superior to these rough neighbors in that they were capable of developing a civilization of their own and of absorbing that of other countries as time went on.

Polygamy was common among them, and marital ties were not very close or binding so far as we can judge. They were cruel, and at time treacherous, if we may trust their own

accounts of some of their doings during these days. Their houses, or huts, were perhaps built over a hollow dug in the ground, somewhat like the Ainu house of the present, though all their buildings were of such slight construction that we have hardly a trace of them or their form left today except in the shape of the Ainu house just spoken of and that of the Shinto temple. This last, however, belongs to a somewhat later period than the one now under discussion.

The numerals in use then were the same as those which are used to a great extent now, namely, - hi, fu, mi, yo, itsu, mu, nana, ya, kokono, tari, momo, chi, and yorodzu, corresponding to our numerals, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, one hundred, one thousand, and ten thousand. Their highest number was yorodzu-yorodzu, the square of the highest number. The effect of this is seen in the fact that Japanese numbers are pointed off in periods of four today, and not in threes or sixes as in the West.

They almost certainly had some kind of measures of surface, volume, weight and quantity, as well as those of length, as the fixing of these standards is attributed to Izanagi, the earliest of all the Japanese gods of whom anything is said in the way of real legend. The only ones of these measures now known, however, are those of length, which were the Tsuka or hand, equal to four finger breadths, the Ata or span, equal to the span of the thumb and the second finger, and the Hiro or fathom, which was equal to the width of the extended arms.

Their calendar, attributed to the Emperor Jimmu,

5
recognized days, months, and years, though just when their new year began is not known. By some it is thought that it began at the time of the succession of each new emperor and during his reign continued to begin at that season of the year, while others think that it is more likely that it began in the spring.

An interesting theory in regard to the year of ancient Japanese chronology has been put forward by a member of the Asiatic Society of Japan. This theory is that the early Japanese, down to the time of the use of written records and the introduction of the Chinese calendar, reckoned the year from one equinox to the next, making it but six months long. The arguments presented give the idea an air of probability, but as yet, it remains only a theory.

The month was divided into three parts, called the new, the full, and the old moon. They knew that the year was somewhat longer than twelve lunar months, also, but they counted the years and the months separately, not attempting to make them fit into a single chronological table.

The main features of their education aside from what may be called education by doing, that is, learning to hunt, fish, fight, work in the field, etc. was connected with their religious ceremony and practice. They had a firm belief in the immortality of the soul which led them to sacrifice their wives and retainers of their chiefs at the funerals of these leaders in order that their spirits might accompany his in the life to come. Their manner of doing this was cruel in the ex-

trams. The poor victims were buried up to their necks in the ground and left to be torn to pieces by wild beasts or birds of prey. Such beliefs and practices made certain sacerdotal duties a necessity, but as yet there was no organized priesthood, these rites being performed by the heads of families. There were however, without doubt, sacred dances, ritual and prayers, some of which have come down to us at the present day. This is much more certain in regard to the dances than in regard to the prayers or the rituals, however. At any rate, some even of the more sceptical historians ascribe the beginning of some of the dances performed now at certain temples, to a period antedating the immigration to Japan. But such as they were, and whatever they were, these materials were the only kind of formal education then in existence, and they were handed on from one person to another orally as is the case with all such things at this stage of civilization.

There was a strong animistic strain in their religion, which seems to have survived, in some cases, along with, though usually separately from the true Shinto or real native religion of Japan. Phallicism also formed a part of their religious belief and practice, and remained so till it was put down by the present emperor. The main elements of their religion, however, centered about a group of gods called the "Kami", or "higher ones" from whom the Japanese race was supposed to have descended, and whose direct descendant and representative was the emperor. This means, of course, that they were mostly ancestor worshippers, though there is no doubt that nature gods played a large part in their religion. So, putting all this

together, we may say that they were in the main, ancestor and nature worshippers, with a tendency toward animism and phallicism in one form or another. Their real gods were either defied heroes or nature gods, and sometimes the two were blended in one and the same deity, in other cases it is impossible to tell to which of these categories some particular god belongs, though that he belongs in one group or the other is perfectly clear.

Aside from religious rituals and rites they had some sort of incantations of a magical kind for warding off evil, though there may be some doubt as to whether these had assumed any really definite form at this period. They also practised ceremonial purification by bathing in cold water, a rite which must be very old as it is said to have been first practised by Izangi after his trip to Yales in search of his spouse Izanami. This rite has come down to the present day, but only the relic of the magic of that time which survived long enough to come within our knowledge is the foretelling of events by the crackling of the shoulderblade of a deer when heated.

They used the flesh of animals for food freely, and though they made some sort of ritualistic distinction between clean and unclean animals, this does not seem to have affected the edibility of the flesh of the beasts in question in the least.

Summing up their culture materials, then, in a sort of table, we have something like the following:-

1- Habits.

(a) Of skill.

1. Building of houses or huts.
2. Building of boats or small ships.
3. Domestication of animals.
4. Agriculture.
5. Making of stone and bone implements.
6. Manufacturing of straw mats, grass cloth, and perhaps some kind of rude pottery.
7. Smelting of iron and copper.
8. Hunting, fishing and war.

(b) Of manner.

1. Fierce. (Not so much so as some savage peoples)
2. Cruel.
3. Polygamous.
4. Semi-nomadic and semi-agricultural.

2- Traditions.

1. Creation myths.
2. Historical traditions.
3. Beginnings of ancestor-worship.
4. Prayers, rituals, and religious dances, and perhaps magical incantations.
5. Animistic and phallic beliefs.
6. Belief in a future life.

3- Ideals.

1. Of bravery,
2. Of loyalty (Not yet much more than is usually found at this stage of development.)

3.Of filial piety (Somewhat doubtful in the light of later events, though the early records claim it for this time.)

4-Institutions.

1.Family, loose and polygamous.

2.Tribe or clan, strong.

3.National(Little or no idea of this as such, though the common enemy was forming it for them.)

4.Religious cults (As yet these were included in the family or clan and had no separate existence.)

Section 11. - From 97 B.C. to 285 A.D.

The material given in the foregoing table was that which the Emperor Sujin had to deal when he came to the throne in the year 97 B.C., five hundred and sixty-three years after the founding of the empire, As was said at the beginning, he seems to have been a very vigorous and enlightened monarch, and to have labored assiduously to raise his semi-savage subjects to a higher level of civilization in every possible manner.

In religion he organized the priesthood into a regular profession, and fixed certain forms of rites, rituals, and dances, of which some of the last have come down to us at the present time in practically the same form as that in which he left them. The transmission of all this knowledge was, of course, oral, as there was no system of writing. But the invention of new wind and stringed instruments must have added much to the store of what we may call formal education, in itself, as well as contribution indirectly to the same end

by making the other ceremonies more elaborate.

In agricultural matters he taught the farmers better methods of cultivation and dug canals and water-courses, both of which are so essential to the raising of rice. He is sometimes called the "Father of Japanese Agriculture". For the benefit of this class, also, he divided the year into twenty-four periods of about two weeks each, a mode of counting time which is used today in the country districts, especially by the farmers in determining the time for planting and other operations. *

In political matters Sujin established the custom of rendering service to the sovereign by both men and woman. This was probably military in the case of the men and industrial in the case of the women. He also took the first step in the way of real administrative organization by dividing his realm into four circuits or provinces, and reformed the methods of taxation by arranging for a regular census to be taken at stated periods. He also organized guilds of sword-makers, arrow-makers, shield makers, and weavers.

In commerce he encouraged ship-building and established some form of communication with Korea, though he was not the first to do this nor did his efforts bring much of a result in this line for some centuries.

* See Appendix 11.

After such a start as this it is not surprising to find that the next emperor, Suimon, was a man by no means lacking in the spirit of progress. One of his first acts was to take up the organization of a military system, at the same time strengthening his northern and eastern frontier against the Ainu by establishing arsenals. Other than this he seems to have done little in the way of administrative reform.

We are told that during his reign stone coffins of fine workmanship were made, but whether for the first time or not we cannot tell. In the rites of burial, however, he carried out a reform that was much needed, namely the abolition of the custom of burying the living with the dead spoken of a few pages back. One of the courtiers of the time, being distressed by the cries of the poor victims, made clay images (Haniwa) of men, women, and horses and put them in the places of the living beings. This so pleased the emperor that he conferred upon this courtier the title, "Haji", or "Clay-teacher".

The effect of this reform was two fold. In the first place it did away with a cruel custom, a thing which the Emperor Sujin had tried to do and failed. And in the second place it formed the beginning of Japanese art. It was a very rude beginning, it is true, but nevertheless, it was a beginning and the Japanese art of a later date owes much to this humble start.

Silk-worms were raised and the silk used during this period, though when the art was introduced we do not know. The

methods of working up the silk into cloth must have been of the rudest, for we are told that they put the cocoons in their mouths to moisten them and unwound them from there!

At some time during this period or the one before it there arose a sort of medical practice which was used along with the incantations spoken of before. Moxa (or mogusa) were used for burning into the flesh; beds were made of a certain kind of rushes for the purpose of healing the sick who were laid on them; and clams were charred and applied externally for burns. Internal medicines seem to have been used very little or not at all. It will be seen from this that the actual knowledge of medicine possessed by the Japanese before the coming of Chinese lore and practice was an a,most negligible quantity, at least so far as we are able to judge of it from this distance.

War chariots were used during this period, but it is doubtful if there were wheeled vehicles of any other kind. Metal was more and more used and stone less and less through these two periods, and at the end of the one of which we are now speaking the Japanese had passed completely out of the stone age.

Naturally the life of the people, after the reforms and advances under Sujin and Suinin, was a much higher plane. They had much better houses, more like the type represented by the older Shinto shrines of today, such as those of Ise and a few other places. But the fact that the capital was changed every time a new emperor came to the throne shows

clearly that they did not build very substantially even yet. Modern Japanese houses are far less permanent structures than the American or European dwelling and at the time the building of even a palace was too simple a matter to interfere with a custom which rose out of their ideas of the pollution resulting from the presence of a corpse. Human life was cheap. Bravery and perhaps filial piety, were the virtues, par excellence, of the age. The greatest hero of the time, and one of the greatest of all Japanese history, was Yamato-dake, who killed his brother because he was lacking in respect for his father. It should be said, though, that his fame does not rest upon this deed, but upon the fact that he conquered a large section of the main island which had up to that time been occupied by the troublesome Ainu. However, that such a hero as Yamato-dake ever existed and that the Japanese of his time had any ideas of filial piety is stoutly denied by some historians, though it seems probably that there was some sort of an original real person whose deeds formed the foundation for the legend. Moreover, the people probably did have some ideas of filial piety, though how strong those ideas were may be an open question.

The Japanese of that day, the Yamato race, then, were little different from other peoples in the same stages of civilization, so far as we are able to judge of the matter as we look back through the mists of tradition which have gathered about the dawn of their history. In one thing, however, they seem to have been a little in advance of most

places, they were more cleanly. Japan abounds in hot springs and from the earliest times the people have been accustomed to gather at these places and use the water for bathing, both for purposes of cleanliness and for their medical qualities.

For purposes of formal education, this period must have marked a great increase of material in several lines. The able-bodied men of the nation, at least part of whom must have had to do military service, had regular training in the use of arms, and the others, as well as the women, must have found much to learn in industrial pursuits. Along the line of more purely intellectual work, there were prayers, rituals, dances, and the playing of wind and stringed instruments to be learned by those connected with the priesthood, and methods of administration with more or less of a rude sort of mathematics by the official classes. Some time during this period Japanese poetry probably began, but as yet it could hardly be said to have had any appreciable effect on the nation or to form any real part of the mental equipment of the people.

The advances during this period, then, from the time of the accession of the Emperor Sujin in 97 B.C. to the expedition of the Empress Jingu in 203 A.D. or rather to the coming of the first Korean scholar in 283, may be summed up in the following manner.

1-Habits.

(A) Of skill.

1-Better methods of agriculture.

2-Building of temples and real houses.

3. Building of larger and better ships.
4. Division of the year into twenty-four parts for agricultural purposes.
5. Art of making clay images, and stone coffins.
6. Distilling of intoxicating liquors.
7. Raising of silk-worms.
8. Better methods of weaving.
9. Better methods of handling metals.
10. Better pottery.
11. Playing of more elaborate musical instruments and the manufacture of the same.
12. More elaborate dances, rituals and prayers.

(b) Of Manner.

1. War as a profession.
2. Filial piety more emphasized (perhaps)
3. Beginnings of a real centralized system of administration.

2- Traditions.

1. Historical accounts and myths.
2. Beginnings of the traditions which led to mikado worship.
3. More definite rituals and prayers.
4. Some oral prose literature, though very little.

3- Ideals.

1. Less cruel than before.
2. Obedience to Shinto deities more emphasized.
3. Ideals of cleanliness of person.
4. Ideals of ceremonial uncleanness, with the

accompanying conception of purification, and containing germs of an idea of sin.

4- Institutions.

- 1- Family - still polygamous and loose, but better than before.
- 2- Tribes- as before.
- 3- Nation-central government growing stronger.
- 4- Rudimentary standing army and the beginnings of a military class.
- 5- A regular priesthood.
- 6- Industrial guilds.

CHAPTER 11.

The First Great Influx of Chinese
Civilization.

(282 or 283 to 662 or 668 A.D.)

This period which we are about to take up lies still within the age of doubtful records even to the very end, and the first part of it extends far back into the largely legendary period of prehistoric Japan. It begins, as has been said, about the year 282 or 283 A.D. with the coming of the first teacher of the Chinese language to Japan, and extends to about the year 662 or 668, when the first real school was established by the Emperor Tenchi. The length of the period, then is about four centuries, and these years mark the rise of Japan from barbarism, or semi-barbarism, to the dignity of a very real, and in many ways a very high and complicated civilization.

Some historians cast all manner of doubt upon the records of this time as they are found in the *Wojiki* and the *Nihongi*, the two books spoken of in the last chapter, and it is certainly true that many, many of the events in the part of these books which deals with this period are still highly colored with legendary matter. But in spite of all the untrustworthiness of the records so far as details are concerned, the fact is indisputable that during this time Japan drew upon Chinese culture for her own advancement in civilization, both from China directly and through Korea, and it is this fact, rather than the exact chronological order of events or the correctness of certain details, that is of prime

importance to us in our study of Japanese education in its earlier years.

The cause of the beginning of this flood of culture materials, or of civilization, or whatever we may choose to call it, which flowed so constantly from the continent to the Island Empire during these four hundred years and for some time after, lies back within the period covered by the last chapter. But inasmuch as it is more closely related to the material of this chapter than to that of the first one, it is put here.

In the year 293 or thereabouts, according to Japanese official chronology, the Empress Jingu, widow of Emperor Chuai, being troubled by the intrigues of the people of one of the Korean states with some of her own rebellious subjects, made a punitive expedition to that country. It was probably not a very extensive sort of a venture and the accounts we find in the chronicles of Japanese history are too highly colored to be of much use to us in the way of details or facts. But so far as we are concerned at the present time in this work, it does not make much difference whether or not she brought home eighty ship-loads of booty as the first earnest of the annual tribute which the Koreans are said to have promised to send to Japan "till the rivers should flow backward and the pebbles leap up to the stars." In reality the expedition itself was a very small affair, but the fact that it opened up the way for freer intercourse with Korea, which had already adopted Chinese civilization, is what makes it of interest to us. It was this raid upon the continent, headed by this masculine

empress, which made possible the coming of the first continental or Chinese scholar, the Korean wani, in 283 or 285, or thereabouts, with real formal education materials. That is, the first record which we have of anything beyond the old oral and practical education is the statement that in the year 283 or 285, or thereabouts, a Korean named Wani or Wangi, or Wangin came to Japan to teach Confucian Analects to Prince Waka-iratsuko, the son of the Emperor Ojin, who was in turn the son of the Empress Jingu.

This eminent scholar brought with him, in addition to the Analects, the Thousand Character Essay, a book used mainly or perhaps wholly for the purpose of teaching the art of writing. And although his pupil was the son of the emperor there was no royal road to a knowledge of the Chinese classics even in those days, and we may be fairly sure that this teaching of these books to the young prince meant much the same kind of teaching that the teaching of these and other books of a similar kind did later. That is, it meant that the pupil had to learn the book by heart even though in the foreign language, first, and then he listened to his teacher's explanation of the meaning. He was considered to have mastered it when he had learned it by heart and was able to give its meaning in his own language. That the prince did not wholly fail in this most tedious and difficult task is shown by the fact that some years later, when a letter arrived from the court of Korea, couched in language lacking in respect he was able to read it and to detect the rudeness, and tore the letter in pieces.

But it would be wrong to infer that this introduction of the arts of reading and writing into Japan at this time was followed by any great spread of this kind of education and that hundreds of persons were only too eager to master the thousands of characters necessary in gaining command of this most difficult language, even though many teachers and eminent scholars came over from time to time all through this period, especially toward the latter part of it. The meagerness of the records leaves us in much uncertainty, but the facts probably are that now and then such teachers came over and they and their descendants slowly formed a coterie of learned men, with some native Japanese among them, around the court, and that only at the end of the period when learning became more of necessity for officials, did any large numbers take up the study of real book-learning in earnest. It is true that we are told that court historians were appointed not long after the coming of Wani, but their mastery of the Chinese language can not have been very complete, as we find the record of a letter coming from China which no one at the court was able to read. Even when the historians from the provinces were called in the matter remained a mystery. It was cleared up only when a descendant of a teacher who had come over in a capacity similar to that of Wani came forward and read it. Needless to say, he was highly praised and substantially rewarded.

In order to understand how court historians could keep written records by means of Chinese characters, and still be unable to read a letter from China, we must first under-

stand something of the nature of the Chinese language and under what circumstances it was introduced into Japan.

When Wani came to Japan with the first books which we have any record of as existing in that empire, there were no written characters for the Japanese language. There has been some talk of a set of written symbols having been used in this country previous to this time, but that idea is not accepted by any authority of the present day. The advantage of a written language must therefore have been almost immediately apparent and scholars soon set to work to see what could be done to adapt the Chinese written forms to their own use. Three solutions of the difficulty presented themselves, or rather were possible. They could invent a new alphabet for their own language; they could adopt the Chinese characters and use them for writing Japanese; or they could write all their records in pure Chinese, that is, write them in a foreign language. The first of these solutions does not seem to have occurred to them for a long time, for there is no record of any real Japanese alphabet until sometime in the eighth century. This is not so strange as it might seem at first sight, for we must remember that the Chinese characters, which were then only written symbols that the Japanese had ever seen, were not phonetic characters at all, but were ideographs, which are closely related to hieroglyphs, and hence did not represent sounds at all, so it is natural that they should not suggest the idea of a phonetic alphabet to the scholars of the island empire.

This leaves us with the other two solutions of the

problem, both of which were more or less used. The first was probably the earlier one to be used by the Japanese themselves. The court historians who were appointed in the early years of the fifth century used this method almost, if not quite, exclusively. That is, they selected certain ideographs to represent the fifty sounds of the Japanese syllabary and used them as phonetic characters. This would seem to be a very simple way of doing things as well as an easy one till we remember that the making of one of these characters is often by no means a slight task and therefore to write a polysyllabic language like Japanese with one of these complicated figures or hieroglyphs, each of which in Chinese stands for a whole idea, to represent each syllable, would be an appalling undertaking for anyone who attempted to write anything of any length. But in addition to all these difficulties, as if they were not enough, the learned scribes of that day were not content to use the same character for the same sound every time it occurred, thus making it necessary to learn but fifty characters; they used any number of different characters to represent the same sound, thus including all together some hundreds of these ideographs. This use of these ideographs as phonetic symbols only, is the explanation of the incident related above in regard to the court and provincial historians being unable to read a letter written in Chinese although they were familiar with some of the ideographs. They were not familiar with the Chinese idiom or language nor did they know anything about the real meaning of ideographs as ideographs, which was, of course, the way in which they were used in the letter, and

hence they could make nothing of it.

The third method, that of writing everything in Chinese came in later but the difficulty and disadvantage of using a foreign language, especially one so difficult as Chinese was too great to be overcome until Chinese learning and literature were more popular and more widely diffused throughout official circles than they were for many years after its first introduction into the islands of Japan.

There are now no books extant which were written during this period as even the historical records which were kept have been lost, but the two earliest books, the Kojiki and the Nihongi, show the effects of these two methods of writing. The writer of the first, the Kojiki, would perhaps fain have used the pure Chinese idiom and grammatical forms, but he could write neither Japanese poems nor Japanese songs in that way, nor could he always express the true meaning of the Japanese in pure Chinese. On the other hand he was appalled at the idea of putting so great a work on paper by means of the ideographs used as phonetic symbols only. In this dilemma he did what many another man has done, he compromised. He used the ideographs sometimes as ideographs and sometimes as phonetic symbols in a way which was fatal to all literary merit and which has made the book one of the most difficult in the world to read.

The author of the other book, the Nihongi, was bolder and used the pure Chinese in every possible place and thus made his work far superior to the former one from a literary standpoint, though it is in a foreign language.

Such Japanese poems as existed during this period, and there were many, must have all been written with the ideographs used as phonetic symbols, for no Chinese words could by any means be permitted into their composition. The task of writing these, however, was no very great one, even though the number of poems was comparatively large, for each one was composed of but thirty-one syllables, which is the ordinary length of a standard Japanese poem.

These ways of writing both held on all through this period, clumsy as they were, for no improvement is apparent till some time in the eighth century.*

The introduction of written language into Japan laid the foundation for the other various sciences which came with it. Among these other branches of learning were philosophy, medicine, astronomy, almanac making, astrology, divination, mathematics, history (Chinese, of course) Chinese literature, and law. Botany and Chinese physiology came with the medicine, and much study of the biographies of great men was done in connection with history. Military science was studied under the head of mathematics, also.

As to the kind of materials of which these branches of learning were composed or what stage of advancement these sciences had reached, we can discuss that better when we take up the question of the studies pursued in the first university, as these are the things, in general, at least, for the purpose of teaching which the university was established.

* See Appendix 111.

But no educational review of this period would be complete without the mention of Buddhism and its contribution to the intellectual life of the nation. Some accounts tell us that Wani brought some of the sacred books of this religion to Japan when he came near the end of the third century, but this is more or less uncertain. At any rate, we hear but little of it until about the middle of the sixth century, when it first came into prominence. It was still very weak, but in the early years of the seventh century Prince Shotoku Taishi took up the matter and pushed it so strongly that the new religion soon began to flourish throughout the length and breadth of the land, and has continued to be the religion of the great mass of the common people until the present time.

Just as Confucianism found in Japan a virgin soil for its ethical and moral teachings because there had been no real code of morals there before it, so Buddhism found it a country with no well developed religion. The native cult, Shinto, has never been, even up to the present time, a complete religion, and so true is this that many deny its being a religion at all. Buddhism, therefore, which had a well thought out philosophy for the deep thinker, a philosophy which explained all the profound questions which vex the soul of man, and furnished with a heaven and any number of hells as realities to be grasped by simpler minds, took firm hold upon the higher classes with extreme rapidity, and within a very few years, it had made itself at home not only among officials but among all classes, and was accepted generally throughout the country.

Educationally, Buddhism meant the influx of a huge

amount of literature into the country, for this religion has a literature greater than those of all the other great faiths of the world combined. It includes many sacred books of the law, treatises of Buddhistic philosophy, and numberless lesser books of the magic, witchcraft, prayers and incantations for healing the sick, ways of warding off evil, and commentaries on all these without number. Of course all these were in Chinese and were accessible only to the studious few, but the doctrines were taught orally both to the people of the higher classes and to the commoners as well. However, all through this period and the next one as well the influence of Confucian learning and its accessories was so strong that we hear but little of the Deeper and quieter, but equally potent force of this foreign religion. But the hold which it took upon the people and upon the educated men as well, is shown by the manner in which it was able to hold to its work and to keep learning alive during the dark ages of Japan's history. In this it performed much the same office in that land that Christianity did in Europe during her period of darkness.

Among the various facts recorded in the chronicles of this period, the following may serve to show something of the progress of the people and their eagerness to sieze everything good that came in their way. In 593 a priest brought some books on calendar calculating and others on witch-craft, and magic. Arithmetic of the Chinese kind being necessary in the work of the latter arts as well as in the science of calendar making, this gave a great impulse to this branch of work, and the old native methods of calculation disappeared once and for

all, and left scarcely a trace behind them to show what they had been.

About this time, as we might expect, the old Japanese calendar was set aside, and a new one, a Chinese one, was adopted. The day was now divided into twelve hours, each two of our present yours long, an arrangement which lasted till the early years of the Meiji Era. The connection of arithmetic and some other branches of mathematics with these other science tended at first to give it a great impulse, but it never seemed to get beyond the stage of being a sort of adjunct to other branches of learning. It was so closely identified with these other things that some writers have said that one of the reasons why arithmetic was so much disliked later was because of its connection with magic, which had by that time fallen into disrepute among the more intelligent classes. However, the organization of the treasury department in the year 400, even before the new form of government was introduced, gave this subject a somewhat more real and permanent value, at least in some of its simpler forms, and thus saved it from being entirely shut out from the curriculum of regular studies in the first schools when they were established.

Some time about the year 630 the Chinese standards of weights and measures were introduced and the names now in use were adopted. The Emperor Tenchi, one of the most capable and energetic men who ever sat on the throne of Japan, while yet crown prince, invented a water-clock. It was made in such a way that the day was divided into one hundred periods of

fourteen or fifteen minutes each, though what its exact form was we do not know.

At various times during this period, but especially during the first half of it, large numbers of weavers, tailors architects, carpenters, makers of pottery, and other craftsmen came over and settled in Japan. Now and then as many as several thousand might have been found in one group, so that their influence must have been considerable. The cloth used by everyone became of better quality and far more common. It was these weavers and tailors that made possible the court robes which were so necessary in the court ceremonies and displays that came in from China near the close of the period. The architects must have made some beginning in the way of improvement over the old Japanese houses and made it possible to erect the stately temples demanded by Buddhism when it began its real career in the middle of the sixth century. But even with all this improvement, the building of a house, or even of a palace or of a whole city was too simple a matter to interfere with the old custom of changing the seat of government every time a new emperor came to the throne. In fact this custom did not cease till the year 710 when the capital was fixed at Nara, where it remained for the next seventy-five years.

If we compare the pottery of the older style, namely that produced before this period begins, with that produced toward the end of it, we can see a very great advance, and no doubt all lines of industry shared in this forward movement in

much the same way that all industries have gone forward in the last forty years since the opening up of the country to western intercourse , though the earlier movement was probably by no means as rapid as the present one.

Politically, or rather sociologically, these new workmen and their native fellows were nearly all formed into guilds or groups of men all working at the same trade or occupation. This was only a further development, however, of the similar idea in the mind of the Emperor Sujin when he organized the guilds of arrow-makers, bow-makers, and a few other craftsmen two or three centuries earlier. Most of these guilds were local, though now and then one of them seems to have covered a large extent of territory, and they must have wielded a strong influence in industrial education. Unfortunately for us, however, in Japan as in all other countries, the history which is recorded in the chronicles is not that of the common people, but that of the court and the higher classes, and all we know of the industrial life of these days is a few bare facts.

But deep as the influence of these immigrants must have been on the life of the natives of the country, the greatest thing, in some ways, which Japan received in her intercourse with the continent, aside from the art of writing, was her form of government, which she copied from China.

Up to the year 645 the Japanese Empire had been nominally an absolute monarch under the sway of the descendants of the earlier patriarchal mikados, though it is more than

probable that in many cases the sovereigns found it hard to control their stronger and more distant vassals and that many of these fierce feudal chiefs were more or less independent. But in that year, as a result of reforms begun some time earlier the government was remodelled on the Chinese plan. This meant a tremendous advance in methods of administration. It also meant a much larger amount of official machinery, greater centralization of power, and a definite grading of officials into classes or ranks, all fixed, and changeable only at the will of the sovereign, and with a definite income attached to each rank.

At the head of this system was the mikado, and next to him was the High Council of State, the Dajokwan. Below this council were the eight state departments, which were as follows:

- 1- Nakatsukasa-no-sho or Department of the Imperial Palace.
- 2- Shikibu-sho or Department of Civil Office and Education.
- 3- Jibu-sho or Department of Etiquette and Ceremony.
- 4- Mimbu-sho or Department of Revenue and the Census.
- 5- Hyobu-sho or Department of War.
- 6- Gyobu-sho or Department of Justice.
- 7- Okura-sho or Department of the Treasury.
- 8- Kanai-sho or Department of the Imperial Household.

There are two things to be noted in this arrangement of these eight departments of the government as bearing directly

upon the subject of education. The first is that the duties of five of them, namely the first, third, fourth, seventh and eighth, were really concerned with the revenue for and the maintenance and management of the imperial household and affairs immediately connected with it. This meant that a larger number of the higher officials had to reside in the capital and were very closely connected with the person of the emperor, thus forming a sort of official coterie in the central city of the realm. This was so true that for an official to be appointed to the governorship of any but one of the five home provinces immediately contiguous to the capital was regarded as little short of a misfortune, in fact such appointments were used as a sort of punishment by banishment. Such a system tended to keep education, which was entirely a matter for officials, centered about the capital for some time, and even when it spread to the provincial capitals it was in a lesser form as we shall see. This tendency was so strong and has hold on so tenaciously that even today Tokyo is one of the greatest student centers in the world and is the Mecca of all educational efforts in the empire, in a sense that no other city in the world can claim to be. And moreover, official position is still, to a great extent, the goal of the Japanese student.

The other fact to be noted is that civil office and education are combined in any one department. This would seem to be a very natural and a very highly commendable state of affairs from many points of view, especially when we consider

our modern ideas of civil service, And no doubt in many ways it was a great advance over older methods, and improved the quality of the men who held office under the new government very materially. But on the side of education it meant that the whole object of teaching was to be made the preparation of men for official life. Government service was not simply one of the various avenues of life toward which education was to lead men, but it was the only such avenue. Doctors, mathematicians, classical scholars, lawyers, historians, astronomers, astrologers, and even those trained in healing by divination and magic, all looked forward to official position as the goal of their ambition. Or perhaps it may be more accurate to say that a man became an official as soon as he became a student and that the years spent in study were simply a sort of apprentice years in preparation for the other later tasks, for the life of a student in the days of the first schools savored more of that of an official than it did of that of a student in the more modern sense of the word, in many ways.

All of this official machinery was organized and put in motion before the opening of any institution, as such, for the teaching of students, hence we are left to infer that there must have been a good deal of private teaching during the latter part of the time at any rate, or there would not have been a sufficient supply of men qualified to take the various positions, especially such as required a knowledge of reading and writing, for the Chinese ideographs were the only written symbols in use as yet, and the mastering of these numerous and complicated symbols was no easy task. But this demand for men with a knowl-

edge of the arts of reading, writing, and calculation of the calendar, as well as able to handle finances, must have grown more and more insistent as the system of government gradually became settled and the people became more accustomed to it. This meant that the preparation demanded by the old system, with few written records and with little or no semblance of real documents, was entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the new system, and the Chinese learning became a necessity. And as time went on it must have been clear to the statesmen of the day that schools were a necessity as well for there could be no way of imparting this Chinese learning to the men who were to be officials unless there was some such institution for the purpose. The work of private individuals or tutors, no matter how gifted or how active they might be, would never wholly suffice and so, as a result of this demand for a school or schools, the first university was established.

But if we take up the matter from this standpoint only, we are likely to get causes and effects mixed. The system of government just described did demand that its officials should be taught after the Chinese manner. But the system itself was the result of the study of Chinese books and of Chinese civilization. This came first when Wani came from Korea to teach at the court of the mikado, and its effect was deepened when Japanese scholars were sent to the continent to study. Thus the study of these things was the cause of the system, and the system, in turn, was the means of furnishing a stronger impetus toward deeper and more thorough study, which later resulted in the establishment of schools under the direction of

the Department of Civil Office and Education.

As to just how this current of erudition came into the country, we find that up to the beginning of the seventh century the current of civilization flowing into Japan came mainly from Korea, though of course the materials were all of Chinese origin, at least so far as anything above manual arts was concerned. But in the year 607 a man named Ono-no-Imoko went to China to study, thus starting direct communication with that country in a more definite way than had been the case before. Many other great scholars followed him from time to time. One, a Buddhist priest named pin, stayed in China for twenty-five years, and in 645 he and another Japanese named Takabuki-no-Kuromaro were given the title of Hakase, a degree corresponding roughly to our Ph.D., the first native scholars to be so honored. There was no institution of learning at that time which could confer these honors, but they were granted to these two men by the government, more than probably as a partial reward for their services, inasmuch, as they had had much to do in the reorganization of the administration, which had just been brought to a successful close.

But in all this it must be kept in mind that the intellectual advances spoken of in this chapter never reached any but the highest official classes who formed a small coterie about the court of the mikado. The industrial parts of the new civilization did reach the lower classes as well, but nothing above that even touched them, for there were no schools. and even later when such institutions were opened they were

only for the higher classes and there was accomodation for but four hundred students for some time. And before the university was opened, the number of men who could find the opportunity to learn must have been even smaller so that the scholars who could boast of a real knowledge of the various arts and sciences must have been few indeed, outside those actually engaged in government work. And besides this, many of the government officials at this time were Chinese and Koreans, thus reducing the number of natives who might be called learned, still more.

But looked at from the standpoint of those who did actually profit by the new learning, that is, the official classes, the advances made during this period were enormous, amounting almost to a complete change of life on the part of many, especially those about the palace and the departments of the government, and comparable only to the revolution in the manner of living which has taken place here during the last fifty years. It is impossible to tabulate all the advances thus made, but some of them are shown in the table below.

1-Habits.

(A) Of skill.

1-Better pottery making.

2-Better weaving.

3- Better architecture.

4-Better tailoring (very skillful at the end of the period)

5-Better breeding of horses (Brought from Korea)

6-Practice of Chinese medicine, including

acupuncture.

7-Art of writing Japanese with Chinese ideographs as phonetic symbols.

8-Keeping of written records (still embryonic and poorly done.)

9-Proper methods of measuring time.

10-Proper standards of weights and measures.

(b) Of manner.--

1-Confucian morals, including especially filial piety

2-Buddhist morals and rites.

3-More highly developed and complex habits of living.

2. Traditions.

1-Chinese legend, history, science and philosophy.

2-More definite historical records of the times.

3-Beginnings of real history

4-Buddhist literature,

5-Strong and continually strengthening Mikado legends which had by this time nearly if not quite led up to the point of worship.

3. Ideals.

1-Ceremonial propriety (Chinese)

2-Less cruel, due largely to Buddhist influences.

3-Filial piety.

4-Loyalty to the mikado.

5-Abstinence and meditation (From Buddhism)

6-Literary excellence (Still in its infancy)

4. Institutions.

- 1- A strong centralized government.
- 2- A system of private teaching at the court.
- 3- Buddhist temples with their priests.
- 4- Elaborate ceremonies of various kinds.
- 5- Provinces in the place of the old tribes.
- 6- Guilds of workmen of all kinds.
- 7- A definite official class.
- 8- Ranks for all officials, fixed and carefully graded.

CHAPTER 111.

The First Japanese University.

As we saw in the last chapter the opening up of Japan to intercourse with the continent of Asia subjected it to a flood of new ideas and of new arts and crafts, all Chinese in their origin and crude as many of them were, they were far superior to anything possessed before that time by the Japanese themselves, But the Japanese have never been slow to adopt and adapt any good thing which has come in their way, and they were not slow in doing it in this case. In the year 645 the government was reorganized on the Chinese model, and in consequence officials with more or less of some kind of education were in great demand to fill the offices thus created in new system of administration. Some of the men who held these offices may have been Chinese or Korean and for the first few years private teaching seems to have kept up a fairly satisfactory supply of men or else the government was too busy with other things to think of the necessity of educational institutions. But about the year 668, or perhaps as early as 662, the date cannot be exactly ascertained, this demand for educated men found its answer in the establishment in the capital, which was still a temporary affair, of an educational institution, which, for want of a better term, has been called a university.

The emperor who was directly concerned in the founding of this school was Tenchi, who reigned from 662 to 671 and who was one of the ablest men who has ever sat upon the

imperial throne of this empire. While still but heir apparent he was prominent in the councils of state and had much to do with the reorganization of the government, and it is to him that the Japanese owe the invention of the water-clock mentioned in the preceding chapter.

This university was probably not, at the outset, a very completely organized and well regulated institution, but was rather more like an attempt to organize and unify and bring under official control, in the Chinese way, the various private tutors and other educational activities already going on in and about the court and capital. The actual definite reason for the establishment of this school was, however, the necessity for educated men in the government. Inasmuch as the government had seen fit to organize itself on this plan, and had to have men, this was the natural way of supplying the demand. But besides this, the civil service system of China had made a great impression upon the Japanese who had been abroad and had seen its workings in that country. They had seen men passing their official examinations and going on to high preferment in the state. They had seen the "learned aristocracy" which this system had created, the Literati, and the great benefits which China had derived from the activities of these men. They wanted to see these things in Japan and the best way to get them was to establish a school where men could be educated in such a way as to make them able to pass similar examinations and thus in a short time Japan would have her "learned aristocracy" too.

So for these and perhaps for other reasons, an institution of learning was established and was called a university. It was under the supervision and direction of the Bureau of Education, which was a part of the Shikibusho or Department of Civil Office and Education, which it was necessary that the student should pass before being able to take any official position.

The early records of the life of this university are very scanty, our first real information coming from the book called the Ryo-no-Gige, a later compilation of the laws in the time of the Emperor Temmu, who reigned from 673 to 690 but these regulations are very brief indeed, and leave much to be desired in the way of detail. The first full and clear account of the institution and its doings is found in the Engi-Shiki, a code of laws published between the years 900 and 923, A translation of the portion of these laws dealing with the University will be found in the appendix. The facts, so far as we are able to get at them, and with a few guesses at a former state of affairs from later records, seem to be something like the following.

As might have been expected, there were not enough competent Japanese not needed in the government service to undertake the work of managing and instructing the students in such an institution, and hence it was partially, or more probably wholly, manned by Korean and Chinese savants who were either brought over for the purpose, or had been private teachers or who were sons of teachers, men who had been trained in the schools of their native lands or who had been instructed by their fathers men who had a long inheritance of classical learning, a thing

which even the best educated of the Japanese had not, The staff of the University was composed of the following officials and instructors:-

| Office ----- | No. |
|--|-----|
| 1-President ----- | 1 |
| 2-Vice-President ----- | 1 |
| 3-Hakase (ph.D. or full professor ----- | 1 |
| 4-Ass't Hakase or Ass't Professor ----- | 2 |
| 5-On-Hakase or Pronunciation Professor ----- | 2 |
| 6-Sho-Hakase or Writing Professor ----- | 2 |
| 7-San-Hakase or Arithmetic Professor ----- | 2 |

There were also minor officials such as secretaries, janitors, gardeners, etc. who attended to the minor and more menial tasks incident to the running of such an institution.

Some of the records state that the one Hakase and his two assistants did all the teaching and omit all the special teachers entirely from their accounts. There may be two explanations for this omission of the names of the lesser instructors. One is that the writers who do so did not regard the teaching of these six men as anything more than preparatory for the real work of the university which began after the student had mastered the three R's. The other is that the Hakase and his assistants did do all the teaching in the early years of the institution and that other spacial teachers were added as the work developed. The latter of these two explanations seems the more probable.

This being an official institution for the production

of educated officials, the number of students was fixed at four hundred in the university proper and thirty students of mathematics besides. However, this must have been in the nature of a maximum limit, as we find that from time to time the number of students varied greatly, there being sometimes almost, if not quite, none at all. Another of the official characteristics of the University was the fact that the students were appointed to it rather than admitted by any system of examinations. Any person, male, between thirteen and sixteen years of age, of the fifth rank or above (there were nine ranks in all) was eligible to enter. In certain special cases persons of as low as the eighth rank were allowed to enter, though exactly what circumstances caused such a person to be eligible does not appear to be wholly clear. Some writers tell us that this was a favor conferred upon the descendants of Chinese or Korean tutors who had come over in earlier times and others say that it was a privilege extended to persons of the lower classes who were specially desirous of studying. Judging by the sources from which these two opinions come, it seems somewhat more probably that the former is the correct one.

Thus there began to be formed in Japan a "learned aristocracy", a class of Literati. But since there were nine ranks in all, and as a usual thing no one below the fifth rank was admitted to the university, this learned aristocracy was smaller and of different kind from that found in China. In putting these limits upon the official status of the student of the University, the Japanese adapted the Chinese system too

ability is shut out from the institution entirely. And much of this failure can be attributed to the fact that the Japanese tried to fit the educational system of a, theoretically at least, purely or almost purely, democratic country and social organization upon their own aristocratic social system.

But to return to the organization of the University. There were soon developed four departments, which were called,-

1-Meikyo-do or College of Ethics and the Science of Government.

2-Kiden-do or College of Composition and History.

3-Meisho-do or College of Law.

4-San-do or College of Mathematics.

Although the main part of the work in each of these departments or colleges was done in the lecture room, so far as anything like teaching was concerned, yet it will help us very materially in making an estimate of the work if we remember that the students had text-books as well in most cases, and study there texts as far as we can get hold of them. They were, of course, all in Chinese as there were no real books in Japanese at that time, the only things of the kind in the country being the records of the court and provincial historians spoken of before. This entailed the necessity of their learning to read and write Chinese, and in most cases they learned to read each book as it came in their course as a special thing by itself. This was necessitated by the fact that the ideographs in one book would be different from those in another and one such character gives

much for their own good. In China any poor man of ability might, however lowly his station in life, aspire to high honor and preferment in the state. The path was simply along the line of learning and official faithfulness, and was open to every man, at least theoretically. This prevented, to some extent at least, the formation of a fixed hereditary aristocracy and kept vigorous new blood from the common people flowing into the ranks of the upper or ruling classes continually. As has been said, the Japanese had seen the workings of the system of education in China and had recognized the great benefit it was to that country, and they wanted just such a class of learned men for their own land. But those who introduced the system into the Island Empire were men of hereditary rank already, and they wanted to make sure that there should be no interruptions into their circles from the lower classes. Either they wanted a monopoly of the benefits of education or else they did not consider the common people as fit for education. But whatever their reasons may have been, the fact is that they shut out the common people once and for all from every hope of obtaining official preferment by means of an education procured in the public institution established for the purpose of preparing officials.

This was their great fatal mistake, and in the course of the next few generations we see education going down, corruption and incompetency in the government, and a lack of students as well as a lack of energy and ability in those who do enter the university, while many a man of low rank but having real

but little clue to another. For learning to write they had the Thousand Character Essay, probably, although this is not mentioned among the text-books in the records of that day.

The following list of books with a word of explanation as to the contents of each. Where it has been possible to ascertain it, will indicate roughly something of the work done. A reference to the appendix where short extracts from some of them may be found will assist in this also. The list of names given here is fairly complete, so far as we can find out, but it has been impossible to discover what the contents of some of the treatises on mathematics were.

1-Meikyo-do or College of Ethics and the Science of Government.

- 1-Shueki---Divination---See extracts from the Eki-kyo , a very similar work.
- 2-Shosho---A mixture of Chinese history, ethics, and the science of government.
- 3-Moshi ---A book of poems --Annotated edition used.
- 4-Shurai---Etiquette and ceremony of the Shu era in China (800--700 B.C.)
- 5- Girei---Ceremony and etiquette.
- 6-Shunju Sashi Den ---A history of China.
- 7-Raiki -----Ettiquette.
- 8-Rongo----Confucian Analects --Annoted editions.
- 9-Hokyo----Classic on filial piety --Annoted edition.

11-Kiden-do or College of Composition and History.

1-Shiki-----Lives of great men.

*2-Kanjo -----History of China during the Kan era.

*3-Gokanjo -----History of China during the later
Kan Era.

4-Monzen -----Literature.

5-Jiga -----A sort of dictionary.

6-Sangokushi ---A history of the three kingdoms of
China.

*(Note.-- It is interesting to note that the two Kan
eras spoken of here are the two parts of the golden
age of the Chinese, the Han or Kan people, who are
today (1911-12) in rebellion against their Manchu
conquerors.)

111-Meikyo-do or College of Law.

The students of this college did not use any regular
text-books, but studied the laws and imperial edicts of
China and Japan, especially the latter.

IV-San-do or College of Mathematics.

1-Sonshi---A treatise on warfare and strategy, some-
times read today by military men.

2-Gose or Goshi----?

3-Kyusho --- This book was divided into nine parts
which treated of the following subjects:-

1-Measures of areas of squares and rectangles.

2-Measures of value, length, and quantity.

3-Calculation of values.

4-Comparative areas, dealing with circles, squares triangles, and some irregular polygons used in allotting land.

5-Measures of time and weight for the purpose of calculating the cost of transportation.

6-Measures of volume and piles of cakes or balls.

7-Method of dividing a certain amount of money among a certain number of persons.

8-Equations of two, three, or four unknown quantities.

9-The use of the right triangle with the sides in the proportion of three, four, and five in measurements of distances and sometimes of heights.

4- Kaito---Surveying and measuring of islands in the sea.

5-Rokusho -----?

6-Teisutsu ----?

7-Shuhi -----?

8-Kyushi -----?

9-Sankai jusha ---?

It would be mentioned however, that although the Book of Filial Piety and the Analects are mentioned in but one place, all students were required to master those two books irrespective of the college to which they belonged.

As earlier and more simple arrangement of the work of the University would seem to put the work of the first two colleges into one and to divide the books studied into three classes namely, the greater classics, which were the Moschi,

the Shurai, and the Girei, and the lesser classics which were the Shueki and the Shosho. A student who studied but two books was required to take up one of the greater and one of the lesser or two of the medium texts. If he studied three, he must take one of each. If he wanted to go as far as to master five books he had to include both the greater classics, the Analects, and the text-book on filial piety.

The workings of this plan are not at all clear as our information is not very full, but evidently it was not a very satisfactory arrangement, as it was changed for the more elaborate system first described before many years passed.

The methods of teaching in this University were much the same as those which have been used from time immemorial in China, Kora, and Japan, and may occasionally be met with even today. When a student first entered the school his first task was to learn to read and write the Chinese ideographs in the particular book which he wished to know the meaning of, that is, to study. Inasmuch as their number ran up into the thousands even in one book, and each one of them consisted of from one to thirteen or fourteen or more strokes of the hair pencil or writing brush, this in itself was no easy task. There were no such things as classes in this school, in the modern sense of the word, at least, and hence all the work was individual. The student brought his book to his teacher, who read a short passage to him two or three or more times. When the student had grasped it sufficiently to be able to repeat or read it himself he went back to his seat and said it over and over aloud to himself until it was indelibly fixed

in his memory. He then went back to his teacher and repeated it to him, together with a part of what he had learned before as a sort of review. If he was able to do this to the satisfaction of his instructor, he was given another sentence or passage in the same way.

In learning to write, they were first instructed as to how to hold the writing brush, and then shown how to make the ideographs, beginning with the easiest ones. In the writing of these characters it is not only necessary to remember the form of the ideograph but also the order in which the strokes are made, and hence of the ideograph but also the order in which the strokes are made, and hence the amount of time and practice necessary is prodigious. As a copy-book from which to learn new characters, they had the Thousand Character Essay, an ingenious collection of ideographs arranged in fours, each group making some sort of sense, but having but little connection with any other group. It might be compared to a series of short sentences set as copies for English-speaking boys and girls to learn to write from. They copied these characters over and over again on the same sheet of paper until it was completely covered, not in the ordinary sense of the word, but actually black from having had scores of these characters written on it one over the other. As they used India ink and writing brushes the papers became wet in the process, hence they were carefully dried at night and used again the next day. This may seem an excessively economical way of doing things, but when one considers the number of times it must have been necessary to write each of these thousands of characters in order to be able

to write them rapidly and correctly, some such method of economy, especially at first, was the fact that the student began his work by writing the characters very large and then gradually made them smaller till he could make them clearly, correctly, and of the normal size.

In the work of mastering a book the first task was to learn it by heart, as has been said, with no idea whatever of its meaning, the words being all those of a foreign tongue and therefore nothing more than nonsense syllables to the student. And it was only after this tedious process was completed that he was allowed to hear any explanations and thus get some inkling of what the book meant. How such a system could be favored by anyone seems almost incredible at first sight, but there was a certain amount of mental discipline, in some respects of a high order, in being compelled to plod on day after day at such a tedious task, and it certainly must have developed patience and perseverance. That the Japanese in general either did not possess these qualities or disliked this system in other ways would seem to be apparent from the fact that they used this for but a short time, comparatively, before they invented a more convenient script of their own, a system which is still in use, and is in many ways a very good one.

In order to check up the results of this study, examinations were held every ten days, and then as a relief or a reward the students were given a holiday on the days after. These examinations consisted of two parts, one on the work of learning, to read or repeat the contents of the book, and

the other on the lectures or the meaning of the texts as given in the lectures. In the first of these tests the instructor covered up three of the ideographs selected at random from the thousand considered each time, and then compelled the student to read the passage. One such test was given at each of the ten-day examinations. In the case of the lecture work, they were compelled to give a resume of the meaning of a passage containing one thousand characters. If they were able to do this for two out of three passages each time, they were considered to have passed.

This probably means that in the eight days of work before the examination they had to learn, or were expected to learn by heart one thousand characters from their books or to learn the meaning of one or more passages of that length from their teacher, by listening to his lectures. This may seem a huge task, but it must be remembered that not all of the one thousand characters would always be new ones and it may very well be that not every student passed every time. Moreover, to learn one thousand characters by heart so that one could say them over before a teacher at the end of ten days or eight days, and to learn them in such a way that they could be recognized whenever and wherever they were met, are two very different things. If a student had been able to master one thousand characters during each of these ten-day periods and to do it thoroughly, it would not have taken so many years to cover the required ground as it actually did take, if we are to judge by the accounts given of the early work or by the experience of later scholars in going over the same ground in

more recent years.

One incentive to good work in the University, mentioned in the early records, is one not wholly Oriental in its use, and which at present has been practically eliminated from the schools of Japan. This was corporal punishment, which, in the form of whipping of some kind, was administered to those who failed in their work at these ten-day tests. It was a custom brought over to Japan with the rest of the pedagogical paraphernalia of the times, but it is not likely that it flourished well in the more aristocratic soil of the island empire, as it has practically passed away, and to one who knows the horror with which the ordinary Japanese regards such punishment, especially when administered with a whip. It seems very strange, even though the whipping was probably not so severe as in China, where it is said that a master often struck a numskull so hard with his bamboo that he drew blood.

A further way of marking the progress of the students was the practice of making them finish one book completely before taking up a second one, no one being allowed to be studying two books at one time. Thus a teacher could state at any time almost exactly the stage of advancement to which any student had attained.

Those who did well in these minor examinations were passed on to the annual examinations held by the President and Vice-president of the University on the thirtieth day of the seventh month. At this examination the students of all departments except that of mathematics were asked to give

a resume of the meaning of eight passages of one thousand characters each, from whatever books they had read, in the same manner as they had been compelled to do in the lesser examinations every ten days throughout the year. Those who were able to do this satisfactorily six or more times out of the eight were marked "high"; those who did so only four or five times were marked "medium"; those who could get over only three or less were marked "low". Those who were marked "high" and "medium" were sent on to the Department of Civil Office and Education for further examination officially, as soon as they had covered a sufficient amount of work to entitle them to take the civil service tests. Any student who could not rise above "low" in three successive years was dismissed from the institution as hopeless.

The students of the College of Mathematics were given three problems from the Kyusho, and one each on the Kaito, the Shuhi, the Goso, the Kyushi, the Sonshi, and the Sankai Jusha. If they answered all the questions or rather solved all the problems correctly, they were marked "A". If they answered six or more, but not all, correctly, they were marked "B". But if they could not answer so many as this or if the three which were not correct were all from the Kyusho, they were counted as having failed. These men had also to pass a second examination on the Teisutsu and the Rokusho, consisting of six questions from the former and three from the latter. They were graded just as in the first examination, and if the three questions which a student who answered six only had omitted were all from the Rokusho, he was counted to have failed.

At first the students who came up for examinations of this kind were simply asked to give a resume of ten such passages as they had had in the annual examinations in the University, but soon a more elaborate system was introduced which was not only more complicated but also explicitly included the mathematical men as well as the others. Some points in regard to these examinations are not very clear, but as nearly as can be told from the various accounts, the system, including the manner of grading and the degrees granted to the successful candidates, was brought over from China, as we might have expected. But in adapting this idea to the Japanese social system again the Japanese made a great mistake. The students admitted to these examinations were divided into six classes, and each class was examined according to the studies which they had pursued. This would have been all very well if this had been the only basis of classification, as this would have given every one fair chance at least so far as the University gave them one. But not content with the monopoly of learning established by the University system, which largely limited the students to men or the sons of the men of the fifth rank or higher except in special cases, the officials who formed this system of examinations, left some of them open to men of even higher than the fifth only. The whole basis of classification and the nature of the examinations seems to have been something like the following:-

1-Kokushi Gaku--To this examination only men who had shown special talent and who were of the third rank or higher were admitted. They had to write two essays on political

subjects, but these subjects were taken from Chinese history rather than from contemporary affairs either foreign or domestic. Their work was graded both as to subject matter and as to style of composition. Those whose composition and reasoning were both of a high order received the title of rank of "Jo-no-jo" or "First of the First" and the honorary rank of "Sho-hachi-i-jo". Those whose style of composition was but medium while their reasoning was of high order or whose style was excellent but had only medium powers of reasoning were given the rank of "jo-no-chu" or "Second of the First" and the honorary rank or degree of "Sho-hachi-i-ge." Those whose style and powers of reasoning were both of medium grade received the rank of "cho-nu-jo" or "First of the Second", but had no honorary title. They were however, allowed to take office though they were not commonly considered to be eligible to the highest positions in the government.

11-Dai Gaku--To this, the second most important examination, only persons of the fifth rank and above and who had studied at least two of the Chinese classics were admitted. The examinations consisted in reading selections from the books which they had studied. And in this case they were expected to answer one question each from the Shurai, the Shunju Sashi Den, the Raiki, and the Moshi, as well as three more that were taken at random from the five classics and three from the Book of Filial Piety and the Analects. Those who gave satisfactory answers to all the questions were ranked as "Jo-no-jo" or "First of the First" and were given the honorary degree of "Jo-hachi-i-ge." Those who were successful in answering six

questions were given the rank of "Chu-no-jo" or the "First of the Second and the honorary degree of "Chu-hachi-i-jo".

The others received no honorary degree, but if they could do something with the classics and could answer five of the questions in the examination, they were rated like those of the third grade in the first or Kokushi Gaku examination.

III-Shimon Gaku--To this, the third of these examinations, persons of the seventh rank or higher who had studied political science and had mastered the Jiga and the Monzen were admitted. The candidates had to write two essays on political subjects, and read seven selections from some of the more famous classics. In the reading of the selections the same method as that used in the University ten-day examinations was used. Three out of one thousand characters were covered up and the student or candidate was required to read the passage. Those who wrote both essays in a satisfactory manner and passed the reading or memory tests as well were marked "A". Those whose essays were all right, but who failed in from one to four of the other tests were marked "B". All whose work was below this standard were counted to have failed.

IV- Ritsu Gaku--Those who had studied law were admitted to this examination if they were of the eighth rank or above. They were required to answer seven questions on law and three on the imperial edicts. Those whose work was satisfactory in all points were marked "A". Those who fell short in one or two of the questions were marked "B" and the rest were counted as having failed.

V-Shodo--This was the writing examination, to which all persons of the eighth rank or higher were admitted. In grading their work ease and elegance were regarded as of more importance than any other characteristic of their performance.

Vll-San Gaku--This was the examination in mathematics. All men of the eighth rank or above were admitted to it if they had studied this branch of learning. They were given problems from the ordinary Chinese books on mathematics in the same manner as in the examinations given in the University proper by the president and vice-president of the same.

It may be noted that in this arrangement of the examinations, law, writing, and mathematics stand at the bottom of the scale, men of even as low as the eighth rank being allowed to take the tests in these subjects. Just why arithmetic, or rather mathematics should be so regarded does not appear very clearly, though it is true that this science has never been regarded very highly either in China or Japan at any time in their history. Perhaps some of the reasons hinted at a few pages back may have had something to do with it. As for writing, it is a very natural thing that a largely mechanical subject should not be placed on the same level as the more intellectual pursuits, and it is probable that persons who passed this examination only were admitted to the clerical positions in the government offices, but not no higher. The only reason so far apparent for the position of law in this scale of importance is the fact that at the beginning the books on this subject were very few and thus the task of mastering them was not so great as in some of the other courses. Whether

this is the real reason or not is not wholly clear, however.

As has been said before, all those who passed these examinations were employed by the government in one way or another. There seems to have been but little trouble in finding places for all most of the time, for the greatest difficulty seems to have been experienced at times to find men enough of the requisite ability to fill all the offices.

A glance at the subject matter of the examinations will show that the materials included in the first three are fairly closely related to the work done in the first two colleges of the University, the fourth is based wholly upon that done in the College of Law, and the sixth fits exactly into the work of the College of Mathematics. The fifth examinations, that in writing, was of course, on an art which every student had to master, and it may very well have been that those who took this test were those who did not care to go further in the pursuit of knowledge.

These, then were the courses of study and official openings which lay before the Japanese youth, that is the youth of high rank, of that day, and these official openings were the only ones at all considered by anyone as worthy of the time and effort of a man of any ability.

As to the every-day life of a student of the University we can hardly say that it was a very exciting one, nor one to be envied much by his brethren of the present time. On entering the school his name was placed on the roll and he was ranked in the general life of the school according to his age, the elder ones having more or less authority over the younger ones .

Nothing is said in this connection in regard to the influence of the rank of the father upon the status of the student, but doubtless this factor, as well as age, entered into the actual workings of the system and had some effect.

The first official act which a student had to perform as a student was to present to each of his professors a bolt of linen cloth, and at the same time he undoubtedly made some kind of a speech, such as might be expected or required of a person under such circumstances. This custom has survived in one form or another to the present day. The parents now take their children to school on the first day and ask the teacher to teach them kindly, and often the parent of the pupil makes some kind of a present to the teacher. This is especially true when the teaching is more or less irregular or private, somewhat like the work of tutors in the West. In such cases often the only reward which the teacher receives in any way is this sort of irregular payment or present.

The students had, as has been said, about three holidays in a month, but besides these days of rest each student was allowed to go home for fifteen days each in the fifth and ninth months every year, and if he lived at a great distance from the capital, he was allowed certain extra time for travel, a very necessary provision if a man was to have any time at all at home, if he lived at any considerable distance, since his traveling facilities were largely such as nature provides man with, except in the case of the very rich. And even then they were not much better in the way of speed.

He was not allowed to indulge in any sports except archery and that of a very dignified and quiet type, in marked contrast to the early schools of Greece where physical development was one of the main aims of education. This characteristic has come down to our own day and it is only since the advent of western learning that any real sport has taken any hold in the schools, for the military exercises of the later schools of the Tokugawa age were for the sake of practice in such arts and not for the sake of practice in sport or physical culture. Even today there is a good deal of the idea of duty for the sake of health about much of the athletics of Japanese students though there is more and more of the western idea of sport for the sake of sport coming in every year.

In the way of music, the koto, a kind of zither, was the only instrument allowed. It is rather a sweet-toned instrument but it can hardly be called one that would be likely to stir the blood of young men very much.

In contrast to the strictness of these rules, however, is the statement that students were not expelled for violation of these rules unless the days on which they broke them mounted up to more than one hundred in one year. It would seem from this that a young man might have a fairly good time a good many days in the year and still stay in the University, though doubtless it was made more or less uncomfortable for any one who persisted in breaking the regulations even though he could not be expelled.

This sort of a tame and studious life would seem very strange sort of regime to be imposed upon an active and vigorous people, which, whatever may have been their culture along

industrial lines had had, up to this time, no literature, no scientific knowledge, no written language, and hence no books. That it was not acceptable to a good many would seem to be apparent from the fact that a military class made up to a very great extent of unlettered men, arose and grew up to power within the next three or four centuries. But, distasteful as it may have been to some, it did set a standard and fixed a type of scholar which remain even at the present time in modern Japan. The old-fashioned Confucian scholar of the present time, who is rapidly passing away in the face of modern conditions, is a direct descendant of the scholars produced in this early University, over fourteen centuries ago.

The support of the University came mainly from a sort of endowment. This was evidently of two or three different kinds. Some of it was in the shape of land, the income of which was set apart for the use of the institution, again, some seems to have been coins which were lent to the people of certain cities and the interest appropriated for the support of the University. Besides this we hear of certain provinces being compelled to send in certain amounts for this purpose, and sometimes rice was loaned to farmers and the amounts received as interest used in this way. In the laws of Engi,* we find that certain amounts are to be given to the professors as salaries, as well as allowances, and these doubtless came out of these funds. These salaries were proportional to the amount of work done and the success of the students of each professor must have received by virtue of his official rank.

* See appendix VI.

More than this, many times they received special rewards from the government, and last of all, the graduates of the University, who became professors in any of the provincial schools were compelled to send all their first year's salary to their former professors as a "token of gratitude." The law to this effect was promulgated in 757 but by 838 it had become so much of a burden that it was changed to the amount of two hundred bundles of rice in the straw for men in the first class provinces and fifty for those in the smallest provinces. This, too, seemed to be not over satisfactory and in 870 it was changed to ten percent of the first year's salary, and thus it remained until the days of the University were over. All of these regulations applied to the students of the Medical Department as well as those of the University.

As to the expenses of the student, they probably paid no regular fee beyond the presents to their to the professors on entering, and perhaps something of the kind on leaving the University, and on special occasions such as the New Year Holidays and other festivals. At first they were all self-supporting, with the exception of a small number who were called "Toku-go-sho" or fellows, who received a certain allowance of clothes. Later, however, help was extended to some who were men of ability but who had not the means to support themselves while studying. Besides these special cases, there were some families, as the Sugawara and Oye, whose members might claim support at any time because of the work of some of their ancestors in educational lines, which had sufficed to give them a sort of hereditary claim on the national treasury.

Last of all, persons not residents of the capital were allowed the same amounts of clothes as those called "Toku-go-sho" as they were supposed to be at greater expense than those who lived in the city itself.

CHAPTER IV.

The History of the University.

The University described in the preceding chapter, after its founding in 662 or 668 by the Emperor Tenchi, had rather a checkered career, lasting down to the year 1177, when the last of its buildings were destroyed by fire, though it probably had no students in it for some time before this. The description of it and its work just given is intended to be an estimate of what it probably aimed to be and do during the major part of its existence. It is, however, by no means certain that it really was all that it was intended to be or that all things always went according to the regulations, or even that it was as indispensable an institution as it might seem to be from some of the statements made in regard to it, for there simply must have been some other ways in which learning was propagated, especially during the later years of its history. In this chapter we shall try to follow its history as closely as the records will permit though the scantiness of our information will allow but a very rough sketch.

The movement toward the founding of the University began when the Emperor Tenchi came to the throne, for one of his first acts was to put at the head of the Educational Department a Korean, Kishitsu Shushi. When the plan for the University was formed, he ordered a priest named Yei also a Korean, but a naturalized one, to abandon his holy orders and to become president of the new institution. It is quite likely or perhaps we may almost say it is certain that if there were

of Chinese or Korean blood more probably the latter.

The Emperor Temmu, who was really Tenchi's successor, Kobun Tenno having reigned but a few months, appointed a special teacher of reading and one of writing. A little later we hear of the Emperor Mommu reorganizing the University, but we are not told in what way he did so except that he ordered students to enter. This very likely indicates simply a widening and bettering of the facilities for study and strong encouragement being given to men to take up work. Perhaps it meant the more or less forced entrance of men who were studying outside of the institution. It must have been fairly prosperous in the year 721, for at that time we find on the list of men who were given rewards for professional services in the University two first and three second class professors of composition, and three Professors of mathematics, four professors of composition, and two professors of law.

Some of the records indicate that all the students studied the sounds of the ideographs in the same way at first, but later certain of them took it up as a specialty though of course every student had to do more or less of this work.

In 735 A Chinese named Yanshin was appointed as a special teacher of pronunciation and every student was compelled to take this work under his supervision. If there were as many students then as then as the number of professors mentioned above would indicate there were a few years eariler, this man must have had his hands full, for there being no such thing as class work in those days, all reciting and teaching, aside from lectures, was individual work. The appointment of Yanshin

to this position was due either directly or indirectly to one of Japan's most noted educators, Kibi-no-Mabi, who returned in this year, 735, from a nineteen year sojourn in China, bringing this learned Chinese with him.* He had been at the northern capital or court during the whole of the nineteen years and this very naturally led him to believe that the pronunciation of the ideographs used by the people in that part of China was the correct one. The students of the University, however, had been taught by Koreans, who used the form of pronunciation in vogue in the southern part of the Celestial Empire. So when a Kibi-no-Mabi found himself appointed to the post of vice-president of the University, he induced the emperor to appoint his friend to the post of professor of reading, or rather of pronunciation. From this time on, the form of pronunciation used in the northern half of China became the standard official one. So wholly true was this that even the candidates for the Buddhist priesthood were not permitted to enter their profession unless they could read the classics with the proper pronunciation. At one time and another and in various ways this question of the proper pronunciation of these ideographs seems to have troubled the learned men of the time very much, and before this authorized form was settled upon there were many disputes over the matter.

Yenshin was evidently welcomed at the court and in the country of his friend Kibi-no-Mabi, for he liked it so well that he became naturalized. That he was liked and respected by the Japanese is also attested by the fact that he later be-

came President of the University, and was even later made the governor of the Province. But this sort of thing is not so great an honor as it might seem at first sight for there were several cases of noble refugees from the continent receiving treatment due to their rank when they came to Japan, and some of them even founded great families in their adopted country.

But besides this reform in the work of teaching pronunciation, Kibi-no-Mabi was responsible for a still further advance in the work of the University. Since the year 701 the festivals of Confucius at the equinoxes had been celebrated in the University, following custom which called for similar celebrations in China. But it was not until this great man came back from the land of Confucius, the land of politeness and formality, that the ceremonies on these occasions were performed with the proper "forms and etiquette". A reference to the laws of Engi, the Engi-Shiki in the appendix will indicate to the reader something of what proper "forms and etiquette" meant to these learned men as well as show something of the influence of the man or the system of learning, whichever it may have been, that could impose such a burden upon any institution as the carrying out of these proper "forms and etiquette" must have been.

By this time, that is, the middle of the eighth century, we may consider that the general policy of the University was nearly settled and its organization practically complete. At any rate it seems to have undergone no very radical changes until the whole thing passed away in the twelfth century. There were, however, some fluctuations in attendance

and support due to the waxing and waning of popular support or to the fact that now and then some meddlesome official tried to mend matters by changing some of the minor regulations. A few of these latter changes may be of interest to us, some of them in the light of contemporary history and others as throwing more light on the work and purposes of the University.

When the University was first organized and for some time during the first part of its career, all persons of the fifth rank or above, males, between thirteen and sixteen years of age were admitted to its courses. But in the 739 some wise-acre thought to make matters better by changing the rule so as to admit all children of men in the Department of Etiquette and Ceremony without respect to age. This had the effect of increasing the attendance to such an extent that the Empress Koken, who was then on the throne was constrained to increase the land endowment of the institution.

Another change was made in 806 by which all the imperial princes above ten years of age were ordered to enter the University and take up the line of work assigned to them by their elders irrespective of their own wishes in the matter. As might have been expected, this arrangement did not work very well, for many of these high-bred youths were unable to pass in even one branch of study in spite of years of labor. To such an extent was this true that in 812, after only six years of this arrangement of the work, a new rule was promulgated allowing them to choose for themselves that branch of study they would pursue. How this plan worked we are not told; but we

may infer that it was better than the other, for we do not hear of any return to the former scheme.

Some time after this all males of the fifth rank and above who had not already done so, were ordered to enter the University and study the classics. This was done as an attempt to check the tendencies mentioned elsewhere of the higher classes to indulge in luxury and to become idle. We may be permitted to doubt whether this would prove a very effective cure, and also to doubt the enthusiasm with which the ordinary gay or idle young man would indulge the not very exciting employment of memorizing the sounds of a series of characters not whit of which he understood. But the regulation is interesting as marking the first effort of the government to check the tendencies which led to the downfall of its powers and prestige some time later.

In 821 a regulation was issued prohibiting any but men of the third rank or higher from engaging in the study of literature. This meant a very serious limitation of the number of students of the highest branch of culture, But it seems to have been by no means satisfactory to the men in charge of this work and in 827 one of the professors of this branch petitioned to have the rule put back into its old form, admitting all of the fifth rank or higher. He alleged that there was danger that real masters of the art of composition would cease to be produced, a rather thinly disguised slap at the men who were allowed to engage in this line of work. He also stated that "talent alone was cared for by rules in choosing men, so that one who is a mere domestic in the morning may be raised to the station of a minister of state in the evening" His first statement was probably right, for the limitation of the most difficult branch of learning to men of the very highest ranks would very likely produce the results he feared. But his statement as regards the possibility of a man rising from a lowly position to the highest sort of preferment in the state sounds more like the thoughts of an idealist imbued with the at least theoretically democratic spirit of ancient China than like the sober utterance, no matter what his merits or talents were, and hereditary rank was still powerful even though the results of the examinations were so important that we hear of the chief of one of the most powerful clans of the day praying vigorously for the success of his relatives in the state tests.

From this time on we hear of no more regulations in regard to entrance requirements, and we may therefore con-

clude that the whole University was open to any male of the fifth rank or higher who was more than twelve or thirteen years old. It may be that even younger boys were admitted, but is is doubtful if any younger than this would care to enter. Now and then some infant prodigy might do so, but such cases are rare.

Before leaving the subject of the regulations of the University there are one or two inferences that may be drawn from what we have seen of these rules that are of interest to us. In the first place the admission of even children of families of fifth rank and above in the Department of Ceremonies and Etiquette meant that this was the department which the University was expected to cater to first of all, as nearly all professions were hereditary to a greater or less extent. That is, as we have seen elsewhere, ceremony and etiquette were the important things in education so much so that the future officials of this department were given special privileges in the University.

Again, the ordering of all young men of the higher rank to enter the University and study the classics, whether they wished to do so or not, indicates that some of the men in authority, at least, had seen the tendency of the times as early as the year 800 or very soon after, and had tried to stem the tide of profligate effeminacy that was slowly swamping the whole court and government and drowning out all virtue and learning.

Last of all it is interesting to note in the case of the strict regulations in regard to literary students promulgated in 821 and annulled in 827, that between these two dates,

namely in 820 and 824, two large private schools were established. No doubt the success of the men in these institutions had something to do with the complaint of the poor professor in the University, left with his blue-blooded, but not over talented proteges. He probably saw with justifiable envy, men, of perhaps lower rank, but of far greater ability, enter these schools and shine with a brilliancy that left his noble mediocrites far behind.

Turning now to the buildings and the location of the University, we find that when it was first established it was in Omi, a province not far from the present site of the city of Kyoto, where the capital of the emperor was located. In 720 it was moved to Nara with the court when that city became the capital of the empire. Here it must have attained some considerable dimensions, though we have no record of any buildings being put up for its use. But doubtless it had some kind of a home, though there is so little left of the grandeur of that once great city that it is not a matter for wonder that no trace of the University is left.

After remaining here in Nara for a period of eighty-four years, called in Japanese history the Nara Epoch, the capital was removed to Kyoto. This was done because the Emperor Kwam mu felt that the influence of the great monasteries of the city was too great and was doing harm to the court and to the government as well. The University went with the capital and the court, as we might expect, and in the new city then called Hei-an-jo, it was re-established in spacious grounds

in the southern part of this new center of the empire. The buildings were probably of fair quality for the time, but not to be compared with the massive stone structures of some of our western institutions.

But there were, besides this central University itself, a number of other smaller schools privately established and supported, at least in their early years, though they were all so closely connected with it as to be almost a part of it and hence can be discussed most conveniently here in this chapter.

The first of these institutions was founded because under the three learned emperors (810 - 851), the call for opportunities to study the classics became so great that the University seems to have been unable to meet it. In 823 two buildings were put up on the campus of the University by the members of the Sugawara and Oye families or clans, in order that young men might study history and composition. The former occupied the western building which was under the charge of Sugawara-no-Kiyogimi, and the latter used the eastern one and were taught by, or rather were under the superintendence of Oyo-no-Otohitto. Although the schools were established for the members of these two families only, the records would seem to indicate that others were admitted sometimes and allowed to receive instruction though on just what terms or who these persons were is not clear. The two schools were together called the "Bunsho-in" or "Hall of Composition". Their life as independent or semi-independent institutions was short, however, as they were soon incorporated in the University itself.

Two years after the beginning of work in the Bunsho-in in 825, Fujiwara-no-Fuyutsugu established a school for the education of members of his clan who could not attend the University. This clan was ~~the~~ on then in power and which remained in power all through the time of the prosperity of the civilian court in Kyoto, and it was for the students of this school that the great minister of state, Jufiwara-no-Mototsune, prayed. The building occupied by this school was on the south side of the University proper and was called the Southern Hall of the University to distinguish it from the Eastern and Western Halls, as the two buildings of the Bunsho-in were sometimes called. Fuyutsugu endowed this school with lands and later when it became troubled for lack of funds, an imperial grant of more land was made to it. It also had the honor of having an annual ceremony of presenting its graduates for the public service, presumably for examination by the official of the Department of Civil Office and Education. This was the most prosperous of all the private schools, and remained a private institution longer than any of the others, lasting nearly, if not quite as long as the University itself.

In 831 and 841 schools called the "Shogaku-in" and the "Junna-in" were established for the purpose of educating young men of imperial connections. The first was founded by the Grandson of the Emperor Heijo (or Nara). The other was originally a pleasure-house of the Emperor Junna, and was turned into a school after his death. The one which came into being under the patronage of Ariwara was sometimes called

the Southern Hall of the University, for the same reason that the Fujiwara school was, on the west side of which the new school was built. The other school was evidently farther from the main center, though it is not likely that it was very far away, for Junna Tenno was one of the three learned emperors and his pleasure-house would have been very likely to be in the vicinity of the University on which he spent so much of his time and thought.

In 850 the last of these private schools was established by the consort of the Emperor Saga, the first of the three learned emperors. It was named the "Gakkawan-in " and was for the purpose of educating the young men of her family, that of Tachibana. In 965 this school became a part of the University itself.

The work done in all these schools was mainly in composition, literature (Chinese) and history, the same as that done in the higher classes or divisions of the University itself. Of course etiquette and ceremony were a part of all this work and doubtless their students began on the Analects and the Book of Filial Piety. These were the real things that it was necessary that every man who aspired to state office should be familiar with. Mathematics, real affairs, and useful knowledge of contemporary conditions were all secondary affairs to these future statesmen, and hence found no place in these schools. Their minor regulations, except as regards the admission of students, were more than likely little different from those of the University itself. In fact, as has already been said, most of them seem to have been founded as units in a sort of

group of colleges about the state institution as a center, doing much the same work and driving or leading their students along the same dry, weary road, and aiming at the same goal.

For some time after their founding these schools seem either to have proved dangerous rivals to the central state institute or all learning suffered an eclipse, for in the year 914 a certain Miyoshi-no-Kiyotsura presented a memorial to the emperor in which he stated among other things that the income of the University was wholly insufficient to meet its needs. In fact, there were really no students in it and grass was growing all about the grounds. He humbly requested that the needed help be given lest the government of the country should become unable to discharge its duties owing to the lack of men well enough educated to perform their work properly. Judging from the items of support given in the laws of Engi (901 to 923) his petition must have been granted and the University given a new lease of life.

A little later than this, however, nearly all the private schools seem to have been incorporated into the University. In 1163 the "Sogaku-in" was incorporated into the Fujiwara schools, but this was but a few years before the downfall of the whole system. Nevertheless, long before this, as times grew harder and the rude soldiers of the Taira clan came more and more to hold the upper hand in government affairs the incomes of the court nobles or Kuge became smaller and smaller and it became increasingly difficult to support the schools, so they were glad to shift the burden of their maintenance onto the state treasury. That the Fujiwara school

held out longer than the others was due to the fact that this family was more powerful than any of the other great civilian clans, but that the time came when even they had to step aside and see the real power pass out of their hands and their influence disappear before the mailed fist of Tairo-no-Kiyomori.

Under such circumstances it is not strange that the state treasury found it harder and harder to meet the demands made upon it, and so we find that in 951, when some of the buildings of the University were burned and again in 987 or 988 when they were damaged by an earthquake, there was no effort to repair them. At last in 1177, a fire broke out in the capital during a fierce wind storm and one third of the city, including all of the University that was left, was reduced to ashes. Some of the more optimistic of our historians are inclined to think that the buildings were restored after this disaster, though even they admit that no students ever again entered it, but most students of that period are agreed that nothing at all was done to restore it.

But even before it passed away its fortunes must have been at a very low ebb, for in the year 1135 the throne was memorialized as to the decaying condition of the institution and we hear of the examinations being held in a private house in the year 1152. This would indicate that the University could not have had its full quota of students at least, for if it had, it would have been rather inconvenient for the tests to be held in a private house, even though it may have been one belonging to a nobleman or a minister of state. In the year of the great fire, 1177, the autumn festival of Confucius was

celebrated in a government office. Whether these semi-annual festivals were kept up any longer or not our records do not tell us, But we do know that shortly after this a series of famines, earthquakes, droughts, floods, pestilences and other misfortunes visited the unhappy land and added their horrors to those of civil war. The people were so reduced that it is said that it was not uncommon at times to see well dressed people begging for bread on the streets and sometimes the carriers became so weak that they could not carry wood and fuel became scarce. In such circumstances it was natural that all thought of rebuilding the University should be abandoned, and at last the images of Confucius and his disciples which had been saved from the fire were put in the imperial private Buddhist shrine of the Emperor Hanazono (1309 -1319) and the last trace of the University disappeared. From this time on or even from before this until the beginning of the seventeenth century all learning was in the hands of the Buddhist priests, and even among them it did not flourish very well.

CHAPTER V.

Early Medical Education and Institution.

In order to bring before our minds a more complete picture of the equipment of Japan along this line it will be necessary for us to go back a little and glance at some of the medical knowledge which came to the country during the age just preceding the establishment of definite educational institutions. Going back then to a period several centuries before 668, we find, as has been said in a former chapter that the science of medicine as known to the early Japanese was of an extremely rudimentary character. In fact their cures, says that they were cures of faith and not due to any extent to the medicines or the treatment. This lack of knowledge is not at all surprising in any primitive people, and the Japanese were no exception to the rule. They believed that most diseases were caused by gods or devils, either as punishment or from malice, and hence they were to be cured by the use of prayers, incantations, songs, or other propitiatory means. Devils which had taken possession of a man were driven out with peaches (the symbol of the Kteisipallic worship and in common use as a symbol of healthy and robust animal life) Water, water-plants, gourds and earth were used for burns, fevers and other "fiery" ailments. The bark, roots, fruits, or leaves of the camphor tree, rushes, bamboo grass, birch bark, peaches, red peppers, daikon (a kind of huge radish) arbor vita grapes, madder, sea-weed and bamboo were used, besides various parts of the flesh and vital organs of fowls, pheasants, sanderlings, wild ducks, king fishers, cormorants, rats, bees,

white hares, wild boars, white herons, and moths. This is a fairly good list for such an early period, and there may have been others of which we have no record. Some authorities tell us however, that this list is entirely too long, there having been but eight original remedies, which were carrots, aloes wood (?), gall-nut, licorice, peppers, cinnabar, beans and rhubarb. Which is right no one can tell, but all authorities agree in saying that there was one remedy which came into use very early, namely, sake, the national intoxicant. This was also the case in China, and some of the relatives of this remedy are still favorites in a good many countries.

Some of these remedies may have come from China, but continental medical science entered Japan as a formal thing when a certain Kankibu Kimpachin came to attend the Emperor Ingyo in 414 A.D. His success brought more men in 459, 554, and 555 and at last in the year 609 Japanese scholars were sent to China to study methods of compounding medicines, and thus the flood began. From this time on every few years new books or new ideas were brought over until Japan had adopted nearly all that China had to offer in this line.

It may seem strange at first sight that when the government felt it to be necessary to send men to China to study medicine, when the first University was established the Department of medicine was entirely left out. But it was not left out because the government thought that it was important. It was rather because they thought that it could be taken care of better in a department by itself than if it were connected with the University, which was a largely literary

institution. But whatever the reason, there were two medical departments organized at about the same time that the University was established, but entirely distinct from it, not even being under the same government board.

The first of these does not seem to have had much to do with the work of imparting knowledge, although ten students are enumerated among the members of the department. This Medical Department or Bureau was under the supervision of the Naka-tsukasa-no-sho or Department of the Imperial Palace. It was managed by a "sho" or head whose duty it was to make the medicines for the court or the emperor. Next to him was his assistant, a sort of secretary, though with some independent duties, and four diagnosticians, who diagnosed the imperial and court diseases. Under these officials were ten medical students, who do not seem to have been such in the real sense of the work, but rather officials who prepared the materials for the medicines compounded for the court by the head of the department. Thus this whole bureau seems to have had little to do with the matter of medical education and we may pass on to the other of the same kind which seems to have done more in this line.

We find this other Medical Department in the Kunai-sho or Department of the Imperial Household, and organized as a regular institution for the propagation of medical knowledge. It was managed by a Kami or head, with four officials under him called respectively Suke, In, Taisoku, and Shozoku. These men did no teaching, however, as they were only expected to do

executive work. The teaching force was divided into sections or departments according to the kind of work done.

The first of these was that of medicine proper with ten practising physicians, one professor and forty students. Next came that of acupuncture with five practitioners, one professor and twenty students; that of massage with two practitioners, one professor and ten students; that of magic with two practising magicians, one professor and six students; and last of all two medical gardeners and six students. This last seems to have been a sort of pharmacy section and the students learned all about medical plants from the raising of the plants themselves to the final preparation of the medicine.

(Note--There seems to be some confusion as to the number of students in this whole Medical Bureau for some authorities mention only one half of the numbers given above. This probably means that at first there were but twenty medical ten acupuncture, five massage, three magic, and three pharmacy students and that later the number was doubled.)

At the same time that this central medical bureau was established in the capital, doctors were sent to the provincial capitals, one to te ch, and one to Dazaifu, the seat of the almost independent government of Kyushu. At least an edict to this effect was promulgated, though just how well it was carried out is another question.

These doctors were expected to attend to the wants of the officials in the cities to which they were sent and each one was also to set up a sort of medical school of his own.

with from four to ten students each, according to the size of the province. In these cases the doctor was evidently expected to teach all of the various branches for we are told that the students were divided into the same departments for study as were those in the imperial capital and yet there was no teacher aside from the resident physician.

In all cases the students were from thirteen to fifteen or sixteen years of age on entering, and were of the fifth rank or lower. A few years after the establishment of the department, however, they seem to have been drawn from certain families, to some extent, in which the profession had become hereditary. Aside from this, little change was made in the personnel of the student body in this work.

Not long after the first start in medical work, a department for the study of the diseases of women was started. To this work only women were admitted, and they were kept in a separate building, entirely apart from the men's section of the work. They were chosen from among the maids of the court from fifteen to twenty-five years of age, and were thirty in number.

Again, not long after the starting of this work on the diseases of women, the forty medical students were divided into four classes, for special study. Twenty-four of them were to study internal diseases, six were to study the treatment of wounds and the other external hurts and complaints, six more were to specialize on children's diseases, while the remaining four took up the study of the eye, ear, and mouth. When this part of the organization had been completed, we can-

notbut feel that the work given in this department as a whole covered the ground of medical practice very well and if the methods of work and treatment had been as good as the organization of the department, we could say that there was every reason to think that Japan had a very good start in this line.

The time allotted to the students for finishing their courses in these various lines of study was different in each case. Those who studies internal diseases were allowed seven years, two of which were spent in the study of books and the rest of the time in more practical work; the students of wounds and external ailments were allowed five years, those of the diseases of children had five years, those of the eye, ear, and mouth, four years; those of acupuncture, seven years; those of massage, three years; those magic, three years; and those diseases of women, seven years. (Note--In the case of the last three sets of students, namely, those of massage, magic, and the diseases of women, all books commenting on the subject which have been examined, give three, three, and seven years respectively as the time required for completing the courses, as we have said above.. But the laws contained in the collection called the Ryo-no-Gige, spoken of in a former chapter, the earliest and almost the only record we have of this matter, give three, three, and seven seasons as the time allowed, that is, only one fourth as long as the same number of years would be. It is given here as years, however, as there is reason to think that since all the commentators agree in the use of the longer period, the real

meaning of the word in the laws is year and not season.)

After entering upon their work, all students were examined once a month by the professors in charge of their work, and once a year by officials of the Department of the Imperial Household. Besides this, all except those of magic, massage, pharmacy, and the diseases of women were examined once a season, that is, four times a year, by the head of the Medical Department or Bureau. In the case of the schools established in the provinces the tests were the same except that the higher ones were given by the governor or by some other competent person appointed by him for the purpose. Unusually bright students might complete the course in less than the prescribed time, and if they could pass the examinations they were allowed to begin their work as practitioners. Any dullard who could not pass his examinations after nine years of study was dropped, and some authorities tell us that stupid ones were punished, especially in the provincial schools.

In some cases, if a man was successful in his treatment of patients, even though he was unable to pass his examinations, he was allowed to practice. Moreover, after he had passed the examinations or had been given license to practice without having passed them, and had actually begun his work as a physician, he was not allowed to give up his work without some good and sufficient reason, and he was liable to punishment of some kind if he did so without such reason.

Over and above all the examinations mentioned so far there was one given by the officials of the Department of Civil Office and Education to any medical student of any

5- Ryu-chu-kyo -----Circulation

6- Ensoku-zu -----Anatomical chart.

7- Seki-u-shin-shin-kyo---A book on acupuncture, the name derived from the old tradition of the origin of science, i.e. persons being cured by being pecked by a crow.

The students of massage , bandaging and the care of wounds wholly by demonstration and practice . The latter simply learned the manner of treating patients according to the various magical formulae prescribed for different ailments.

The students of the diseases of women were instructed in tokology, midwifery, setting of broken bones, treatment of boils and like sores, and to some extent in acupuncture, but as to whether they had any text-books or not we are left largely in the dark, However, we may infer from some other things that they did not. It is also said of them that they did not become real doctors, but were much more like the trained nurses of the present day than like true physicians.

This outline would seem to indicate that in a certain way the field of medicine was fairly covered, considering the age in which this work was done. There is some, though not a great deal of specialization, and it should also be noted that there was a great deal of demonstration work for if there had not been we should not have had so many practising physicians and other actual practitioners connected with the work. The long time required for practice and other work outside of the books also points to the same fact. Moreover, in all parts of the work, whether the study of books or actual

demonstration, the students were instructed by means of lectures by their professors and by practising physicians.

From the official organization of the work it might be inferred also that there was a very large and flourishing department or institution for the advancement of medical learning in Japan, and it is certainly true that so far as organization went, officialdom had done its best to help on the good work of making medicine of the most flourishing profession in the empire. But there are indications that this state of affairs did not last as long as we might wish it had for the good of the country. Somewhere about the years 720 to 730 the date is a little uncertain, but at any rate, about fifty or sixty years after the start was made, we find the statement in one of the regulations promulgated for the control of this department:-

"Bright students shall be sought out and shall be given cloth (one of the staples of exchange of the day) for their support while they are studying medicine."

This indicates that the demand for such men was ahead of the number then being furnished, making it necessary to establish this sort of scholarships in order to encourage men to enter. This fact, taken together with the statement that in the year 729 physicians were sent out to each of the provinces, although according to the laws of fifty years before they should have been sent then, and the further complaint of some others that in the year 731 some of the doctors were too old and there were not enough younger men to take their places, make us feel justified in saying that the study of

medicine was not pursued with the zeal that it might have been.

It may have been that the lack of interest was partly due to the regulation mentioned above, requiring all persons who had finished their course of study and received their licenses to practise, to continue to practice their profession whether they wished to do so or not. On the other hand there is just as much reason to suppose that the regulation was promulgated in order to keep up the supply of physicians when the interest in medical work began to wane, although it appears that the rule, at least by a few years, antedates the decline in interest, though the precise date of this falling off in zeal is necessarily very uncertain.

Another reason for the falling off in interest in medicine was the rise of Buddhism, and the consequent increase of Buddhistic magical practices and the use of prayer in healing the sick. We are told by some authorities that during the Heian-cho (800-1186) medicine was used only as a last resort after all the powers of prayer and magic, usually the magic connected with Buddhism, had been invoked to their extent. Others tell us that the teachings of this religion in regard to the uncleanness of the sick had such an effect on the people that patients were often abandoned by the roadside to die. However, judging from some of the ingredients used in the medicines of the period and the methods of treatment in use, aside from all religious questions, it is not a matter for great wonder that prayer and magic were more popular than medical aid, nor that these methods were just as successful in curing diseases as were those of the regular practitioners.

Even leaving the sick by the side of the road to die does not seem to be very barbarous as compared with some uses of the mogusa, or with acupuncture in the eye, or taking some of the concoctions mentioned in these early medical books.

There were some good points in this system of treatment however, and in spite of all these drawbacks, progress continued to be made. New knowledge kept coming over from China, helping matters on as far as they could be helped on under a system in which the internal organs of the human body were all wholly misunderstood as to position and function as well as relative connections, and thus the medical lore of Japan became greater and greater as the years went on, for although the number of men interested in this science was small, they were in earnest. Along some lines their work was very good indeed, for some of them seem to have had some vague idea of many of the principles of modern medicine in spite of their many misconceptions.

By the time we reached the end of the Heian-cho, and take a look at the work along this line done during the next era, the Kamakura period, (1186 to 1332) we find that official interest has dropped to such an extent that there are no longer any students in the medical department at all. Its officials have become simply practising physicians of the court and the men in the department of magic are attending to the magical wants of the emperor and his courtiers as their sole duty. All real instruction in medicine was done in the homes of the great doctors who took into their houses or offices, "Shosei", or apprentices, who worked for their master

in return for his instruction in medicine, and thus gained the knowledge necessary for them to set up on their own account. This system is more or less in vogue even at the present day, although it is not possible now for a man to become a practising physician in this way.

But besides this, the profession became more or less hereditary. It has been said that in the choice of students for the Medical Department certain families had the preference and now, on the same principal, many men followed this profession because they were sons of men who were in it already, in much the same manner as in China up to the present time. This state of affairs continued all through the bloody years that came between the end of the Heian-cho and the beginning of the Tokugawa Age (1603), and on into the latter, so that the first medical schools of which we hear again are only a little while before the beginning of the present epoch.

CHAPTER VI.

Other Educational Institutions or Bureaus.

Besides the University and the smaller Departments of medicine, there was established at the same time a Department of Astrology and Almanac-making, a Department of Dancing and Music.

The first of these was necessitated by the new system of calendars of more or less complicated form, introduced from China, and the astronomical and astrological calculations which accompanied their compilation and use. The work was done under the supervision of the Naka-tsukasa-no-sho or Department of the Imperial Palace, and was called the In-yo-ryo or Department of the In and Yo Principles. (Note:--In and Yo are the Japanese pronunciation of the words Ying and Yang in Chinese, the names of the male and female, hot and cold, or active and passive, elements in ancient Chinese philosophy. See Chapter on Japanese medical practice and on Systems of Philosophy in Japan.) The work was managed by a "Yami" or head, and his four assistants, as was usual with nearly all the government work of any kind. Next to these executive officials came the nine In-yo-shi or In-yo professors, whose duties it was to divine the future by means of the proper magic rods and the hexagrams in the Eki-kyo or Book of Changes.*) In order that there should never be a dearth of men for these nine position there were put along with them a professor of the art of divining and ten students who watched the work of the

* See appendix V.

real In-yo-shi. Next below these came a doctor of calendar making and his ten students. We are not told here who did the actual work of calculating the calendar, but we may infer that it was done by these men. And at any rate it was expected that it would be ready by the eleventh month of the preceding year and copies of it were sent to the various provincial governors in time to reach them by the beginning of the new year. Last of all came the astronomy students, ten in number, and their professor or doctor. Their work included some things not usually thought of as a part of this science, really taking in much of meteorology and like matters as well. They studied the clouds, the state of the atmosphere and all related matters. They were not allowed to use any books at all in their work, confining all their attention to natural phenomena alone.

We are given no information as to the details of the manner of instruction in this department, nor as to the rules of behavior made for the benefit of students, but a slight reference to the extracts from the Eko-kyo and to the system of calendars then in use will give some little idea of what their work must have been. Moreover, the work of this department was such that there was practically no scope for those who had studied here to do anything in any position outside the department itself, thus making the so-called students of this department more of officials than those of any other.

The work done here, then, was only a very small part of the real educational work of the empire, though as a government department it was very important, inasmuch as those

men for the fixing of the varying lunar calendars, the determining of lucky and unlucky days, for the seeking out of evil influences and the determining of the manner of avoiding them, as well as the measuring of the good or evil prospects of various enterprises.

It was for the use of this department that the first astronomical observatory was erected in Japan in the year 677 by the Emperor Temmu, in it he placed the best instruments of the time for the measurements of the motions of the sun and moon and the five planets for the purpose of determining the divisions of the year and foretelling events.

As a department of organization, this one seems to have undergone less or real change than some of the others, although it probably suffered more or less from the ravages of the civil wars of the middle ages. Its comparative immunity was probably due in some measure to the fact that its work was a government department was of such extreme importance, and also that, as has been said, there was no scope for the activity of anyone educated here outside of the department itself, thus freeing it from the varying demands of changing political and social conditions.

The importance of this work in the eyes of the Japanese can be measured by the faith which they have always had in the work of the In-yo philosophers. Even as erudite and well-balanced a man as Nakae Toju, the "Sage of Omi" of the Tokugawa era spent much time over the divining sticks and the hexagrams of the Eki-kyo. Nor is this, nor the fact that

there are some who believe in it even at the present day, to wondered at when we remember that much of the best thought of Japan has for centuries been dominated by the teachings of Confucius, and he was a firm believer in the use of this famous classic. On one occasion he remarked that he would like to spend many years in the study of it. And judging from the remarks of some of the scholars of the present, even a man as wise as Confucius might study it for a good many years and then not be able to tell very much about what it actually meant.

Turning now to the Department of Bureau of Music and Dancing, we again take up an official kind of education, organized in the same way as all the others and for the same reason, namely, that it was necessary to know about these two arts in order to be an educated man according to Confucian ideas. It was music that added the finishing touches to the "Superior man" of whom the sage has so much to say. (Note-- His precise words are, "It is by the odes that the mind is aroused. It is by the rules of propriety that the character is established. It is from music that the finish is received.") The work in music was under the Department of Etiquette and Ceremonies, the Ji-bu-sho, as we might infer from the object which it was supposed to serve. We know but little else about it than its organization, which was about like this:-

It was presided over by a "Kami" or head, who had five under officials to assist him in his work. The teaching of singing was done by four "ka-shi" or vocal instructors

(literally "song-teachers" (under whom were thirty male and one hundred female students. Then came four "Bu-shi" or dancing teachers, with one hundred students, though the sex is not told us. Besides these were two "Teko-shi" or fife teachers, with six students. Up to this point the work seems to have been largely Japanese, and the teachers as well as the songs, music, and the dances were native in their origin. But the organizers of the work were not content to have it confined to such narrow limits, and hence we find twelve teachers each of Chinese and Korean music, with sixty students in each branch of work. Last of all, one teacher of Japanese music and two singers of some kind are mentioned, but whom they taught or what their function was if they did not teach is not stated.

Just what all this officialism and attempt at work meant is not wholly clear, but as we hear but little or nothing of this department later, we may infer that it did not amount to a great deal, and hence we may pass on to other matters more closely connected with our subject and which had more influence on the educational world of the empire.

CHAPTER VII.

Provincial Schools in the Heian-cho.

At the same time that the University was established or shortly after, there were a number of smaller schools started in the provincial capitals for the benefit of the sons of the local officials. At any rate edicts were issued commanding the proper officials to establish such schools, though the meagerness of the records of their work and influence would lead us to think that some of them may have been but paper schools after all. But whatever they were, they were not so large as the University, the official count of students being from twenty to fifty according to the size of the province, and with but one professor in charge in any case. The studies prescribed for these students were very largely the same as those for the men in the University except that they did not advance so far. Evidently they were handicapped as well, in two different ways, namely, by a lack of competent teachers and a lack of proper books. For example, in regard to the efficiency of the teachers, we find that in 716 it was necessary to prevent by imperial edict the practice employed by some of the students of the University, of going out and seeking places in the provincial schools before they had completed their studies. Such a practice would have been impossible if there had been a good supply of competent men for these places.

This situation is by no means surprising when we

realize that the University itself had to be manned almost exclusively by Chinese and Korean teachers, and doubtless it was difficult to find enough of such men for all the provinces as well. Men who would be attracted by the salary as well as the honor of a place in or near the court of the emperor, might very likely hesitate to go out into one of the provincial capitals. Even the Japanese regarded a commission which took them to such a place as a sort of punishment. Moreover, we are told that in some cases, where suitable teachers could not be found, the local governor was compelled to perform the duties of the teacher in addition to his official work.

As for the books, since they were all hand-copied, there were no large supplies anywhere. At Dazai-fu, the seat of the almost independent government of Kyushu, there were, until 769, almost a century after the founding of the schools, no more than the five classics. In that year an application was made to the government to furnish the school with the three histories, as the number of students was very great, and was increasing very fast. This was some time after the first term of Kibi-no-Mabi, one of the great men of the day, as governor of Kyushu, and may perhaps have been during his second term. But the fact remains that at least during his first term in that office, when he taught in the school himself, there were but the five books to be had there. So even such a great man as he had trouble in this way and since this is true, we can hardly expect that less influential men in smaller schools could have fared any better. The

whole situation leaves us with the impression that the student of the provincial school must have had a good deal to contend with as compared with his more fortunate brother in the capital.

But, nevertheless, these schools must have done something, and although we cannot estimate their influence, they at least show that it was the intention of the government to let the light of education shine out into the outer darkness of the provincial capitals even though it did not care to have that light fall upon the non-official classes as yet.

Beyond these meager facts, we know but little of these schools. As we shall see elsewhere, by the beginning of the tenth century the decline of the power of the court and the decay of education had begun; civil commotion was ripe in many of the provinces, and where there was so little encouragement given to educational effort as in the case of these schools, there can have been little power to resist such forces. They probably one by one fell into decay from neglect, and passed out of sight and memory as quietly and unobtrusively as any Arab who ever folded his tent and silently stole away, thus making room for the man who was more needed in the coming days of commotion, the man who was skilful with the sword rather than with the often more powerful but just then weaker, pen.

At any rate, there is no record of any of them having survived the University. The Ashigaga Gakko, of which we shall hear more later, was of a different kind as well as somewhat later establishment and is given us as the only educational institution outside the Buddhist temples which survived the calamities which bore down all the others during the later

Hei-an-Chō and the middle ages, thus being the only link between the old system which we have been discussing and the new one that sprung up during the Tokugawa Age.

CHAPTER VIII.

Educational Materials.

The first task of the student was, as has been said, to learn to read the ideographs in his books, or rather to learn the books by heart. This was done by the student getting the teacher to read over a few characters and then going back to his seat and repeating them over and over to himself, but aloud, till he could remember them perfectly. His book being open before him he could tell which character was which from having memorized the passage, by fitting each sound to its proper character or ideograph. This was no light task as he understood nothing of what he was learning for it was all in a foreign language and as yet his teacher made no explanation of the meaning. It was simply the same thing as learning a long string of nonsense syllables. Of course, as time went on, he learned to distinguish the separate ideographs and the sounds they stood for, but as their number ran up into the thousands, this was a long job. For example, if he began on the Analects, as he very likely did in many cases, he would first go to his teacher and have a few of the characters at the beginning of the book read over to him. He would then go to his seat and repeat these words over and over aloud to himself until they were fixed in his mind. When he felt sure of this passage he went back to his teacher and recited it. If he was able to do it well, he was pushed on a step or two further.

When he had learned the whole book by heart in this way, he was said to be able to read it, and was allowed to hear lectures on the meaning of it, and when he was able to understand it well he was said to have mastered it.

The process of learning to read, then, was largely a process of memorizing, but of course, as the student progressed he became slowly able to recognize the various ideographs whenever and wherever he met with them. He also came to know more or less of their meaning, and so became able to read other books without the help of his teacher. When he was able to do this he was said to know how to read. But the ability to read any and all books that came in their way was seldom if ever attained by ordinary students, most of them being content with the ability to read the books prescribed in the course they were pursuing, and had to be taught to read each new book as it was taken up.

When the task of writing began, these ideographs were copied over and over again on paper, as has been said. A glance at a page of Chinese and the thought that there were some thousands of these characters, all different, will give some idea of the magnitude of the task undertaken by these men who had to learn them all with ease, elegance and facility.

The last of the three R's was perhaps easier, though not much less clumsy than the other two. The books on this subject which were used have been mentioned elsewhere and we may here turn our attention to the actual extent of the knowledge possessed by the mathematicians of the day and to the methods of operation used in performing the various processes.

In the first place, in the matter of measurement of plane figures and in the calculation of their proportions, there was little accurate knowledge. For example, according to their ideas $\pi = 3$ was accurate enough, and the diagonal of a square whose side was five was called seven. These values were probably not obtained by any process of calculation, but by actual measurements made, of blocks of wood or other material cut in these shapes. They did however, make use of the right-angled triangle whose sides are in the proportion three, four, and five, and were also able to demonstrate that if a square measuring three on a side was added to one measuring four on a side, the resulting figure would be a figure equal in area to a square measuring five on a side. They did this in the following manner, and probably with blocks of wood to work with.

The square abcd and the square ABCD, one measuring three and the other four on a side, are placed in the position shown in the figure, one overlapping the other to the extent of the square Ahcg. One layer of the blocks of which the original squares are composed, taken from this overlapping square, will just fill out the rectangles bfBh and DgDe, and thus complete the square afCe, which is five by five exactly.

These statements will show how far they had advanced in the matter of mathematical accuracy and what their knowledge of geometry must have been. Turning now to the matter of actual calculation we find that they could, of course, perform all the elementary processes of arithmetic. For this purpose they used a counting board, marked off in squares like a checker-board and small sticks were used as counters. The system of numbers was decimal, and each counter stood for one unit in the column where it was placed, though the matter was simplified a little by the use of one stick set at right angles to the others in the same column to represent five units of that column. Thus we have 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. and so on. But the sticks which represented units in the tens column were set horizontally, thus . when fifty was reached, it was represented thus, , and next came = 60, and so on. The unit stick in the hundreds place went back to the vertical position again, and so on alternately as far as the number to be represented required.

When the numbers were written upon paper or else where there were no squares to indicate the columns, circles were used in the vacant spaces where there were no integral numbers to be written and we have, 10, 20, 60, 100 10000, etc. The number 126387 would be written but if it were 120708, it would be . If they were represented on the board, they would appear thus:

In some cases at least, they represented the addition and subtraction signs by means of colored sticks, but how they indicated other processes is not clear.

Included in the kyusho, which was the main text-book, were problems involving four equations in four unknowns, which were solved by exactly the same process as that used in any ordinary algebra except that there were no symbols used for x , y , z , or other unknowns. The method of notation used and the awkward processes of addition and subtraction however, complicated the matter very much and made the whole solution a very clumsy one.

Their methods of dividing large number and of multiplication were also interesting, but too complicated to be gone into here. Beyond such matters as these and a very slight use of a few fixed forms of triangles in surveying, they do not seem to have advanced at this early period, and hence this brief account represents pretty well the mathematical equipment of the astronomer, astrologer, and almanac-maker of the day.

Astronomy was made up of much of what we know as meteorology, mixed with more or less of Chinese astrology, philosophy and cosmogony, and was therefore, in a very crude state. Some astronomers taught that the stars were gods who could and did come down to earth and mingle with men. But what knowledge they did have came almost wholly from Chinese books on the subject and from fragments of astronomy found in the history of that country.

We have already mentioned the Emperor Temmu who reorganized the University, and when he did this he also erected the first astronomical observatory in Japan, and equipped it with the best instruments of the time.

It cannot have been much use, however, in the way of real astronomical work, for the Japanese did not do anything independent in the line of calendar making till well on in the eighteenth century. They depended wholly upon Chinese calendars and in the year 1199 they were unable to find any error in their calculations even though their time was a whole day off.

The astrological part of the work of this section of the educational institutions was at this time a very important matter, but as time went on it became more and more the work of the ordinary mountebank. This went so far, and other uses for both astronomy and arithmetic were so few that in later years these two sciences both came to be regarded simply as adjuncts to the work of these fortune-tellers. This is one of the reasons given by some for the contempt with which the Samurai of a later day regarded mathematical calculations and certainly the fact that their main use, so far as he knew, beyond that of calculating values of foretelling the future, of determining the sex of children before birth, and other like matters, would not tend to increase his respect for them.

The calendars which the makers or calculators of these annual necessities had to calculate every year were of Chinese origin, and as they became more and more inaccurate they had to be replaced by other importations from the same

country. According to these calendars, the year was divided into twelve lunar months and each of these months had either twenty-nine or thirty days. The long month was called a greater one and the others kind was called a lesser one. In order to keep the year straight an intercalary month was added every few years. The old way of dividing the year into twenty-four parts for the convenience of the farmers was also used, but entirely independently of the other Chinese system.

Besides the numbering of the days in the month and the months in the year, and the years in the era or year period days, months, and years were all of them reckoned according to a sexagenary cycle formed by combining two sets of symbols or characters.

The first set of these symbols is derived from the names of the five elements, "Ki," "Hi," "Tsuchi," "Kane" and "Mizu", or wood, fire, earth, metal and water, each of which is divided into two parts, or sections, called "E" and "To", or elder and younger brother. This makes ten in all, each of which has a special character or sign, as follows:-

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|-----|---------------|
| 1. | Ki-no-o | 6. | Tsuchi-no-to. |
| 2. | Ki-no-to. | 7. | Ka-no-e. |
| 3. | Hi-no-e. | 8. | Ka-no-to. |
| 4. | Hi-no-to. | 9. | Mizu-no-e . |
| 5. | Tsuchi-no-e. | 10. | Mizu-no-to. |

The particle "no" represents about the same idea as the preposition "of" in English, and the form "ka" is only an abbreviation for the word "Kane". The whole series together is called the "Ten-kan" or "Jik-kan, or the "Ten Celestial Stems."

The other system of signs is simply the twelve division of the Chinese zodiac. They are:-

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-----|--------------------------------|
| 1. | Ne-----The rat. | 7. | Uma--The horse. |
| 2, | Ushi ----The bull. | 8. | Hitsuji--The goat or
sheep. |
| 3. | Tora ----The tiger. | 9. | Sara --The monkey |
| 4. | U -----The hare. | 10. | Tori --The cock. |
| 5. | Tatsu ----The dragon. | 11. | Inu ---The dog. |
| 6. | Mi -----The serpent. | 12. | I ----The wild boar. |

This series is called the "Chi-shi" or "ju-ni-shi", the "Twelve Terrestrial Branches."

These two systems are now combined to form groups of two characters each, and each group represents the sign or place in the sexagenary cycle to which the year designated by those two particular signs belongs. These combinations are made by supposing the two series to be progressing side by side. The first year of the cycle is designated as Ki-no-e, Ne; the second is Ki-no-to, Ushi; And so on till we come to the eleventh, which is Ki-no-e, Inu; the twelfth is Ki-no-to, I; and the thirteenth is Hi-no-e, Ne; and so on. Sixty being the L.C.M. of ten and

twelve, when we reach that number we shall find that our cycle is complete, and the next year will have the same sign as the first one, Ki-no-e, Ne, and thus begins a new cycle justlike the last one.

This is the system which has been in use in China from about the year 2600 B.C., and is of more or less historical value sometimes. If we know the "E-to" of a year, as it is called, that is its number in the cycle, we can often tell what the year really was for in many cases other conditions tell us within sixty years of the correct date. The year 1911 the forty-eighth year of the present cycle, and its sign was Ka-no-to, I. March in that same year was the twentieth-ninth in the cycle of months and was called Mizu-no-e, Tatsu, and the tenth day of that month was the forty-fifth in the cycle of days, and was called Tsuchi-no-e, Saru.

Of course these cycles are no longer used in Japan since the introduction of the western calendar, except by some of the country folk who still prefer the old lunar months and irregular years. But nevertheless, the terrestrial part of it is used at the new year to give the post-card and calendar printers a chance to make money. At the beginning of the year, 1911, all sorts and kinds of pictures of wild boar and even pigs as well were to be seen on the new year post-cards and on the calendars, as well as on other kinds of new year's goods. Now and then, when one of the years which was once considered unlucky comes around, there is some small comment on it, but little attention is paid to such things now.

The "E-to" of the day as well as its date in the lunar calendar is often placed in one corner of each leaf of the separate-leaf calendars for the convenience of people who prefer the old style.

These are the main characteristics of the calendar which the men in this department had to work out. But besides all this ordinary work, they were expected to indicate some at least of the lucky and unlucky days of the year and to foretell any ordinary calamity or other matter which lay within the province of the astrologer, and to embody all these things in the calendar which they submitted to government to be sent to all its officials for their guidance through the year.

Divination was taught in the University itself as well as in the part of the government work that dealt with astrology, for every official of any education was expected to know something of this art. It was performed by means of a series of figures or hexagrams, consisting of six lines each, some whole and some broken, and of the following form:-

There are sixty-four of these hexagrams in all, each one different from all the rest, and each one with a particular significance, indicated by the text in the book given under that particular figure. Forty-nine sticks were manipulated in certain ways to determine the hexagram to be used. The whole process is far too complicated to be described here and would be of little interest if it were. At the present time this kind of divination is done only by the ordinary mountebank,

although the class of people who have more or less faith in it is sometimes surprising.

Morality was a very important part of Japanese teaching at this early date just as it has always been. The principles which were inculcated in this first University were Confucian, as we might have expected them to be. The basis was filial piety, with loyalty and all other human relations coming in for a lesser share in the treatment. It was of a very high order, but lacked the backing of any kind of a religious basis. Beyond this we can say but little here for it is too large a subject to be discussed in so small a space as we have at our command. The reader who wishes to get a clear idea of the matter had better go to one of the numerous books on Confucianism and Chinese morality or moral teachings. The effect of this system of teaching on the students of the University will be discussed in a later chapter when we take up the general effect of the whole system of education on the nation as a whole.

Ceremony and etiquette formed a very important branch of the work, and in some ways was the most indispensable of all. A glance at the extracts from the Raiki given in the appendix will give some idea of what was meant by these two words at that time. In some cases the actual performance of these evolutions was easy and graceful, if we are to judge by the devotees of that sort of things nowadays, but in the case of those who were little accustomed to bodily exercise and who had little natural grace in them, the effect must have been somewhat like what it is now and then today, namely, a performance

that would make the movements of a jointed doll look like a dancing nymph by comparison. The savants of this age in Japan seem to have lacked much of the Greek ideal of physical beauty and strength. At any rate we hear very little of the "human form divine" in their discussion of this branch of their work. The whole thing was simply a huge number of rules for all sorts of occasions and for behavior in any and all circumstances. Mourning rites had a prominent place, but there were rules also for the most trivial details of family life. In some books the order of procedure in making ones toilet was prescribed and even the frequency with which the hands and face should be washed.

The history which these students had to master was hardly what would be called history today, at any rate in any western country. One of the principal books of this subject was the "Shunja Sashi Den", often called the "Sa Den" or the "Shunju". It is composed of historical, geographical, biographical, commercial and other matters all written with the idea in mind that the knave must always be punished and the good man rewarded. Every word is supposed to contribute to this end. Facts and their relation to each other and to the development of a nation are entirely a secondary matter. The book was originally written by Confucius and was worked over by Sa, one of his followers, and in the book it is expressly stated that the purpose of the work is to show how the filial son and the loyal subject are rewarded and the villain is punished. Professor Haga, in one of his papers before the Asiatic Society of Japan, says of it:-

"The traditional exposition of the Shun-jo so thoroughly filled the minds of scholars that not only Chinese but Japanese history also, especially that written by the Chinese school, came to have for its object not the studying of the connection between events so much as the inculcation of morality. Hence, those who were considered to be righteous were always made to be so, as far as possible in order to show the world their examples, and all notice of their minor irregularities of conduct was suppressed wherever it could be done. Conversely, those who were considered to be wrong were made out to be always wrong, to serve as a warning to the world, all the good done by them being treated as not sufficient to cover one action unpardonably wrong when judged by a certain standard. Histories thus framed contain usually, at convenient periods, short discussions and judgments (by the author) of the conduct of the persons described in the narrative."

This was the kind of books that the Japanese student of history had to work with at that time and there is more or less of the same thing even now. It is sometimes extremely hard to find some of the more unpleasant facts of history in the records and formal histories of the country today. He had but little material relating to his own country, although after the beginning of the eighth century the Kojiki and the Nihongi were both available for the purpose. Just why these books were not more generally used is not very clear, especially when we think of the intense nationalism of the Japanese today. It probably is simply due to the inordinate reverence or respect with which everything Chinese was then regarded, But whatever

the reason, the history student of those days, who looked forward to being a statesman, had very little opportunity to study the history of his own country either past or contemporary.

Composition was understood to mean almost nothing but composition in Chinese, and included poetry. Some of the greatest of the scholars of the period may have attained some real proficiency in the art but it is doubtful if the ordinary man ever got beyond a stiff wooden style. Kibino-Mabi may have been skilful in this work, and perhaps Sugawara-no-Michizane, though the latter is thought by some to have been in much the same case as the one-eyed man among the blind, and that he would have made but a sorry figure if he had gone to China with his knowledge of the language and tried to make a show of it. It is not strange then to find that most of the literature of this period was by women, for the men wrote all their work in this foreign language and thus deprived it of all literary merit whatever. But nevertheless this art was given much attention and has survived until the present day, and still troubles the secondary school boy in the modern school. So it was much sought after by the student of that early day who had the rank and the intellectual capacity which would admit him to classes in which it was taught.

CHAPTER 1X.

Medical knowledge and Practice.

The earliest forms of medical treatment and practice have been mentioned before so we may turn our attention here entirely to the question of the subject matter taught in the Medical Department of the government as long as it lasted and by those physicians who took private pupils later. This is not so easy as it might seem as there was a constant stream of medical knowledge flowing from China and Korea to Japan for hundreds of years. However, the main principles which were established at the time of the organization of the medical department remained the fixed and guiding elements in the profession until late in the eighteenth century when western medicine was introduced. In fact we are told specifically in certain cases that even some of the so-called new books on medicine were but rehashes of older Chinese treatises. It will be sufficient then, for our present purposes to outline a few of the main principles which controlled the Chinese medical practice which came over in the earlier days of the new learning, and this will give a fairly clear idea of what was taught at that time.

First as to the origin of disease, there were various theories. Tiring of the body or of the mind, anger, grief, joy, or anxiety might cause a person to fall ill. Moreover, if the In and Yo principles within the body were not in harmony, or if either one of them was too much in the ascendant, sickness would be the result. If the five elements, fire, wood, earth,

metal and water were not mingled in the body in proper proportions or if they could not pass in and out as freely as they should, evil results followed. Too much or too little blood, old age or the wrong kind of food also caused disease.

But besides these internal causes there were external ones which were recognized as equally potent. Cold, heat, wind, locality of a person's residence, and moisture were known to be sources of disease, and devils and other demoniac beings were also powerful in producing these effects on the human body.

These causes enumerated so far came from Chinese and Indian medical lore, and Buddhism added but little to their knowledge of such things, unless it was an emphasis upon the supernatural element. The only real cause of disease recognized by the teachers of that religion who dealt with the subject at all was demoniac activity. This differed from the same kind of cause believed in by the lay practitioners only in the names and varieties of the demons who did the work and their numbers, Buddhism having rather the larger number. Leprosy, however, was considered to be due to the sins of the mother of the sufferer or to the wrath of heaven and therefore it was incurable. On this account lepers were urged to do penance and to pray. This doctrine is not specifically stated to be Buddhistic in its origin, but it seems to smack strongly of that kind of teaching.

In the matter of diagnosis the pulse of the patient was of great importance. It was also necessary to know the age of the patient and to determine the state of the five ele-

ments as well as of the In and Yo principles and the condition of the circulation in order to be able to define the trouble from which the person was suffering. Sometimes divination was used, but this was mainly in the case of diseases caused by demons or other supernatural powers.

We can treat the matter of medical practice for the cure of sickness best under four heads corresponding to the four divisions of the department in which the students were instructed, namely, medicine proper, massage, acupuncture, and magic.

The medicines used were to a great extent herbs and the leaves of plants as is the case with nearly all primitive practice of this kind. However, in some cases, deer-horn powder, snake-skins, powdered boar's tusks, and minerals were also used. The herbs, in order to be of the greatest efficiency had to be gathered on the fifth day of the fifth month, although they were by no means void of strength and healing power even if gathered at other times.

In the treatment of eye diseases, which, judging from the prominence given to this subject, must have been fairly common, washes were mostly used, though sometimes medicines were taken internally. That is, the same medicine might sometimes be used as an eye-wash and again in another case of the same disease or in some other disease as well, might be given internally. These concoctions were mostly infusions of herbs, but sometimes with gypsum, pearl, oyster shell, alum, musk or calc spar in them, and now and then other substances were used also.

When persons were troubled because they could not see well at night, though they got on very well in the daytime, the blood of a living sparrow or the liver of a rat was applied to the eye. Sometimes in such cases the patient was fed on boar's liver as well.

Ear diseases were treated both by giving internal medicines and by putting medicine into the ear itself. It was taken internally when the ear was troubled because of the fact that the patient had taken cold and hence a part of his spirit had gone out of him. As external remedies the brains of a carp, rats, sparrows and sometimes those of other animals were wrapped in cotton and inserted in the ear. When pus was formed it was thought to be due to the presence of an insect, so the ear was wiped out with a reed and some kind of liquid was poured into it. Then a copper kettle or other like utensil was held near the ear and struck sharply to drive out the offender.

Wounds were sometimes sprinkled with lime, powdered sandalwood or gypsum. Pine gum, lamp-black, cinnabar, and white face-powder were mixed and used as an ointment. In the case of arrow wounds, salt fish, raw chestnuts, and mushrooms were powdered and put into the wound and the green leaves were spread over the top. Another wash for wounds was made from clam shells, deer-horns, cuttle-bones, snake-skin (the back of one snake) and catechu, all powdered and mixed with linseed oil. In the case of head wounds the oil was not added and the powder was applied dry.

Women's diseases were the subject of much study,

but the labor expended does not seem to have brought very great results. In the earlier days of this kind of work, constipation, pregnancy and child-bearing were considered to be the main causes of all the ills that befell the sex. At a later period, however, thirty-six specific diseases of the blood of women were recognized, which would seem to be a distinct advance. But some enterprising Aeschulus neutralized all this by inventing a medicine for women, prepared by putting four simple herbs into water and boiling down one half. When thus prepared, this medicine was supposed to cure each and every one of these thirty-six diseases!

Many other medicines were, of course, in common use, but the few mentioned here will give some idea of the work of the physicians of the Chinese school as they went about the country treating (or mistreating) their patients.

The massage of the Japanese is a well-developed science today, and has been for many years. Many a tired foreigner has been glad to call in an "Amma" to rub and pound and knead him until his blood runs more freely and he feels like a new man. It can hardly be said that the Japanese are today at all in advance of our best western practitioners in this art, but they were experts at it long before its benefits had been discovered and made use of to any extent in the West. It was however, not very highly esteemed by the physicians of the early day, though ordinary persons often preferred this kind of treatment to that of the medical practitioner. And one who remembers the style of treatment used by the medical men can hardly blame the patient for this kind of a choice.

At the present time this work is and to some extent was in the past, in the hands of the blind. The whistle of blind "Amma" or shampooer, as he is usually called, is familiar to everyone who has lived in Japan, and his picture is frequent in representations of ancient Japanese life.

Acupuncture was highly developed as well as massage, but we may be permitted to doubt if it was as beneficial to the subject as was the work of the "Amma". In one of the early books on this subject, nine different kinds of needles are mentioned, some long and some short, some thick and some slender, indicating some variety of instruments at least. In use, it was sometimes customary to put the needle into a kind of wax or vegetable oil, and if it turned purple, it showed that the patient had fever.

According to the anatomical ideas of the Chinese school, there were places all over the body where the blood passed from one part of the anatomy to another and it was at these points that the needle was usually inserted in order to improve the flow of the blood. There were sixty-eight of these spots in the head, thirty-nine in the face, twenty in the chin, twenty-six in the head, thirty-nine in the face, one hundred and twenty in the arms and hands, seventy-nine in the back, forty-three in the chest, seventy-four in the abdomen, twenty in the hips and one hundred and sixty-nine in the legs and feet.

Besides probing these spots, these needles were often used for lancing boils, wounds, which had festered, and sometimes for curing eye diseases. Just how successful acupuncture of the eye would be, however, we are unable to discover. The

needles were ovten heated before using and thus made antiseptic, though such a thing as antisepticism was entirely unknown to them, as such.

The use of the moxa, or mogusa was also practised by the acupuncture men. This is a kind of vegetable fiber a small piece of which is stuck on to the skin of the patient and then lighted. It burns down into the flesh, causing much pain, but was, and is yet, considered to be very beneficial in certain cases.

The magic doctor or magical healer was by far the most popular practitioner during a part of the history of japan. He was more or less popular even before Chinese medicine came with its tortures, but after that times, and especially when Buddhism with its system of magic and healing by prayer came, he became much more powerful. And when one thinks of the doses and treatment sometimes administered one cannot but believe that the magician was successful just as often as the physician and certainly his treatment was often much less painful.

His methods varied all the way from prayer and reading of the Buddhist law to drive out the evil principle or demon to the rankest of childish magic. In cases of child-birth a sacred book was placed in the room and rice was scattered about. Besides this it was necessary to see that the roof was in good order, for if a tile were gone it would have an evil influence. Certain persons also had an evil influence, much like the evil eye of western witchcraft, and were not allowed in a sick room.

In the work in and study of anatomy they followed implicitly the charts made out by the Chinese in 200B.C. A

rough copy of one of these charts is given to show far from the truth these poor men had wandered.

Their ideas of the functions of the various organs were most grotesque. The large intestine was to move the food forward and the small one was the place where it was mainly absorbed. So far very good, but when we read the liver as the seat of the judgment or determination, the kidneys as the seat of skill in art, and the brain as a useless sort of head marrow with no real function except to fill the cranial cavity, we need not wonder at some of the strange notions as to treatment.

Although this cannot be said to be an exhaustive study of Japanese medicine in the days of Chinese ascendancy, yet enough has been said to indicate the general tone and trend of all that kind of work in the days before the learning of the West had penetrated into the seclusion of the Island Empire through the Dutch at Hagasaki. There were, of course, advances along certain lines, such as the use of balms, myrrh, setting of bones, etc., but no great progress was possible as long as they used such charts as long as firm belief in the power of demons was prevalent among all classes.

CHAPTER X.

Buddhist Educational Work Prior to 1186.

The average Buddhist priests of the earliest days were probably not a very learned class of men from the standpoint of the state requirements or according to the accepted standards of education among the savants of the day, though some of their number were the equals of the best men of the time classical learning as well as leaders in their own special line. One of them named Bin was among the very earliest scholars who went to China for special study and did much to open up the stores of knowledge of that country to his fellow islanders. Most of them, however, were content to master the books necessary in the work of their profession, and let the matter rest there, especially during the earliest part of the work of converting Japan to Buddhism. Later on the popularity of the classics was so great and a knowledge of them so necessary in obtaining any sort of preferment in the state, that they began to turn more and more to these Chinese books in preference to their own, until at last it is said of them that they neglected their own spiritual duties in order to pursue the more interesting or more profitable line of study which had the official stamp of government approval upon it. At a still later period they did not stop here, but went on to monopolize all teaching work of every kind, but that was not until the age of which we are now speaking had passed.

They did not as a class, contribute much to the original literature of the country, as they found it was about all they could do to master and to teach the sacred books of their religion which had been brought over from China. These books formed an enormous bulk, in the course of time, and had an enormous influence on the life of both the higher and the lower classes. For a while, for example, at some time before the end of the period which we are now considering, these books exercised such an influence on the life of the nation that questions from some of them were substituted for those from some of the classics in the state examinations. When one stops to think of the sacro-sanct character of infallibility, absolute necessity, and general perfection which was given to these classics, he will realize something of the meaning of such a condition of affairs. It would be practically parallel to putting some other book on a par with the Bible in some theological seminary examination.

Again it is said, and with much show of reason, that the Buddhists and their religion are at least partially responsible for a mental characteristic or habit of thought very common in Japan, which causes men to believe in two or more things which seem to a westerner to be wholly incompatible. Whether this was a characteristic of the Japanese mind before the coming of Buddhism or not is not easy to prove one way or the other, but certainly Buddhism furnished material for the exercise of this faculty, when it entered upon the task of converting the Japanese people to its own doctrines without overthrowing the native Shinto religion. Buddhism, as is well

known, unlike Christianity, is a very inclusive religion and in some ways at least, a very tolerant one. On this account it has absorbed so much outside material since it left India over two thousand years ago that at the present time in Japan, it has some phases which Buddha would hardly recognize. In this process of absorption of other things, the greatest step taken in Japan was the reconciliation of the two religions which came into contact there. The real plan for this reconciling of these two beliefs is due the great Archbishop Kukai, or Kobo Daishi, as he is better known by the name, whose other work is spoken of elsewhere. It was he who undertook to explain Shinto theology or mythology, as we may perhaps better call it, by saying that all Japanese gods were but manifestations of Buddha. This seemed, at any rate, to fulfil the demands of both sides and to be eminently satisfactory to all concerned, although it sounds odd to the ears of a stranger to hear of Hachiman Bosatsu, or Hachiman, the Manifestation of Buddha, when we remember that Hachiman was the son of the great Empress Kintu, and is the Japanese god of war. Just how the doctrine of personal immortality so ingrained in the Japanese mind through the teaching of Shinto is reconciled with the doctrine of Nirvana of Buddhism, is more than the mind of many a westerner can comprehend. And yet it seems to be done in some way for a prominent Japanese said not long ago of his own home, "In the morning we had prayers according to Shinto rites; at noon we rehearsed Confucius; and in the evening we worshipped according to Buddhist custom." *

* Rev. J. M. T. Winther in "Present Religious Spirit and Problems

To say that Buddhism is wholly responsible for this mental attitude or characteristic would be rather a strong statement, but that it contributed to it by furnishing food for its exercise, is certainly true, and in so doing it helped to bring about an educational condition or attitude which must be taken into consideration in any study of Japanese life, character or education. That is, Buddhism forced itself on the Japanese people by means of this straddling faculty and gained a strong hold on them in the earlier years of its history, but was later relegated to the background by the educated men of the empire to make way for the more positive doctrines of Confucius. At the present time these last doctrines are not so strong as they once were, though they are still possessed of much vigor, but it is not Buddhism that bids fair to supplant them, but the Christian teachings of the West. But at the same time, the old "straddling", omnivorous or comprehensive faculty is still vigorous, Whether this be a help or a hindrance a means of strength or a source of weakness to the people in the way of education is not a question to be discussed here, so we pass on to other educational work due to this religion and its followers.

Besides these general effects upon the life and religion of the nation. Buddhism made some very definite contributions to the cause of education. The first of these was the invention of the "Katakana", one of the two sets of phonetic characters used by the Japanese. The invention of these characters arose out of an attempt to make Chinese books easier of mastery by Japanese students by means of a set of marks or signs. These

gradually came to have a fuller significance and at last developed into a real alphabet. Thus to these men belong the credit of having given to Japan her simplest system of writing this kind, called the "Katakana" being far simpler than the other, the "Hiragana", which is made up of shortened forms of ordinary Chinese Characters. *

To a Buddhist priest also is due the arrangement of the Japanese alphabet in its most commonly used order, called the "I-ro-ha", from the first three characters in it, just as we say the "a-b-c" or the alphabet". In the case of the Japanese characters, however, the fifty or rather forty-eight sounds thus arranged make words and the words make a short verse of the poetry which expresses a very good orthodox Buddhist sentiment.² This arrangement of the characters is not so convenient in many ways as the one based on the phonetic values of the characters, invented by Kibi-no-Mabi, but nevertheless the "I-ro-ha" still holds its place beside the better form and is likely to for some time to come.

But the greatest contribution to education made by any Buddhist priest as such, was the work of the great archbishop Kukai, or Kobo Daishi, spoken of a few pages back. He did much in general ways to help on the cause of all kinds of education and religion, but the greatest service which he rendered to the cause of education directly was the establishment, or the effort to effect the establishment of a school

* See appendix Vll

2 See Appendix Vlll.

which should give to people of the lower ranks, or perhaps even to those of the industrial classes an opportunity to learn something of books and other things outside the business or trades of their fathers.

As has been said before, the state schools, both those in the capital and those in the provinces were only for men of the highest rank. When Buddhism came, its priesthood opened a way for able men to rise from the ranks of the commons into something of prominence but this was the only way in which a man could rise, in spite of fine rhetorical phrases to the contrary. There seems to have been but one man in several centuries who really rose from humble beginnings to great prominence in politics and letters. This man was Sugawara Michizane, who was, in spite of his later deification, looked down upon as a parvenue, if we are to believe historians. Kobo Daishi saw this situation and compared it with what he had seen in China, much to the discredit of his native land. Whether he had any real idea of the dangers of the aristocratic system of Japan and sought to avoid them by supplying schools which should be open to men of the lower classes, the kind which formed the back-bone of the Chinese system, it is impossible to determine. But he must have realized something of the state perils for he made an effort to remedy matters. It is true, his efforts ended in almost absolute failure in a short time, for the school which he founded died in the course of a few years. But it is noteworthy that anyone should think of education so strictly in the hands of the upper classes as was the case in Japan at that period of her history.

At the same time that Kobo Daishi was planning and founding his So-goi-shu-chi-in as it was called, the establishment of private schools seems to have been quite the fashion, but this one founded by the great priest was the only one open to the common people. The Junna-in, Kangak-in and all the others were all more or less connected with the University and during the whole of their history served the higher classes only.

Among the men of the day who were most interested in this work of establishing educational institutions, Fujiwara Fuytsugu was among the foremost. In the document issued by Kobo Daishi at the time of the establishing of the school, * it is stated that Fujiwara Fuyutsugu gave the land and the buildings for the school as soon as it was hinted to him by the great archbishop that such an equipment was needed. Other things however, would lead us to think that the hold man had to bring strong pressure to bear upon his patron before he was willing to part with so much valuable property even for the purpose of founding a school. But whatever the details of the transaction may have been, in 828 A.D. the school was founded and upon the occasion of its formal opening a proclamation was issued by Kobo Daishi stating how he had come by the property, the purpose of the school, and his own wish that men of learning might offer themselves as teachers for it and that rich men might give land and other property for its support.

*See Appendix 1X.

The tone of this document, though flowery and high-flown, is really lofty, and there is no doubt that if the school had been able to continue work for a considerable period of time and had really carried out the ideas set forth in the proclamation, it would have done a vast amount of good. But it was too far ahead of its time in the matter of popular education to be able to keep going for any length of time. The pressure from above was too strong to admit of any general or even of any large single attempt to enlighten the lower classes, and hence that field of effort was slowly closed to the progressive and philanthropic men at the So-gei-shu-chi-in. In the field of work among the higher classes this school, had, of course, to compete with the University and the private schools about it which had all the prestige of officialdom behind them as well as large grants for support from public funds and from private sources. So only a few years after its founding, just as the decline in learning had begun, the So-gei-shu-chi-in, even though it stood in the capital, was the first institution of learning to go down. In fact the difficulty of keeping it up was mentioned by the founder in his proclamation, where he speaks of two schools of which there is no record beyond their names, as having failed to exist more than a few years and as having accomplished nothing. But the archbishop also states that he is ready to make the trial with another school in spite of the failure of others for they did not found their schools on right principles.

As to what the school actually did accomplish we

know very little. It was started in 826, as we have seen, close by the Toji temple in the city of Kyoto and flourished, with what degree of luxuriance we do not know, till 843, but what the class of students who came to it was or how many there were of them, or how it was organized, we know nothing at all. After this short period of fifteen years, the followers of its founder sold the lands and buildings and moved the school to the temple near by, where it became the first of the temple schools, or Terakoya, of which we shall hear more. This also marked the first step in the work of general education by the Buddhist priests in the temples, a custom that afterward became so fixed that from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries and well on into the seventeenth no one but these men was allowed to do any teaching at all.

A few more of the details of the intentions and ideals of the school and its ideals of the school and its founder may be seen by reading over the translation of the proclamation issued at the time of its founding, which may be found in the appendix.

The moving of this school to the temple naturally suggested the next great educational movement of the Buddhists, namely, the Terakoya or temple schools. As we have said before the So-gei-shu-chi-in was the first of these but there must have been some teaching done in the temples before that time, for all official schools and others as well so far as we have been able to find out, were to fit men for political life, and if the priests were to have any education at all, it was necessary that they should be taught in the temples. Men of the lower

classes found this the only outlet for them into the higher walks of life, and hence went to these places and became priests on that account. But gradually as the state schools went down other men, who were not destined for the priesthood, began to come to these same places to be taught the classics, for they were taught to the priests as well as the sacred books. Men of the lower classes as well, perhaps stirred by the stories of how men had risen from low estate to high preferment in China, began to send their sons to be taught there too. But whatever the reason may have been, people of the higher and lower classes both, but especially the latter, began to send their sons to the temples to be taught. They did not find as good teaching from the standpoint of state education as could have been had in the state schools, but it was far better than nothing. Moreover, this kind was open to the common people, and hence was the first real beginning of popular education in Japan. It was only a poor and irregular beginning, it is true, but it was beginning, and Buddhism deserves the lasting gratitude of all Japanese for this start, just as it does for the starting of hospitals and charity work as well. The fact that it did not carry either the educational or the charity work very far lessens this credit, but what it did was far better than nothing, and far better than any other force in the country did before the coming of western learning and Christianity.

For something like one thousand years this irregular temple education was the only kind open to the common people, and for four or five hundred years of that time it was the only kind of education of any kind carried on in the whole

country. It was better organized later on in the Tokugawa Age, as we shall see, but even at its best it was not a very efficient system. And during the period of which we are now speaking, it was little more than private teaching by such priests as happened to like that work better than their sacerdotal duties and had time for it as well.

Summing up the results of the work done by the Buddhist priests, as such, along the line of education, up to the end of the twelfth century, they seem to be something like the following:-

1-The invention of the simpler system of phonetic characters.

2-The arrangement of the sounds or letters in the Japanese alphabet in a form which has been recognized and used from that day to this.

3-The opening of a way by which men of ability of the lower classes might rise to prominence.

4-The sowing of the seeds of work for universal education and the education of a small number of persons of the lower classes.

5-The introduction of a voluminous religious and moral literature.

6-The accentuation of a comprehensive or "straddling" attitude of mind among its followers and to some extent among the people at large, which has lasted till the present day.

CHAPTER XI.

The Education of Women Prior to 1186.

All that has been said in regard to schools and other matters of formal education, with the exception of some parts of the work in music and dancing, has had to do with men only. The University and the provincial schools were for men alone. A woman in a school so saturated with Confucian doctrine as all these were would have been an anomaly, for the great sage regarded women as essentially unfit for the acquirement of real learning, and as distinctly inferior mentally to the lordly sex.

Buddhism, too, had its share in the lowering of their status, for it taught that women were more sinful than men, and in many other ways tended to lower their position. So we may say that it, in conjunction with Confucianism, actually did lower their position, for in Old Japan women had a far higher place than they have ever occupied since Buddhist and Confucian doctrines have become the dominant philosophies of the land. That the women of this ancient time were by no means what we sometimes think of the Oriental woman as being, the slave or plaything of man, is attested by many incidents and conditions. There were many chiefs and even makados who were women, and the people of China often spoke of Japan as the "Queen Country" And certainly when such women as the Empress Jingu are brought

before us, we must acknowledge that ancient Japanese history records heroines who were the equals of Boadicea or any other Occidental amazon. Moreover, Japanese writers who wish to prove that the position of woman in their native land is no whit inferior to the one she holds in the West, often draw their illustrations from this period. But never, by any chance, do they bring up any such stories from the later times when the two forces just spoken of had had time to get their grip upon the people.

Thus women in the days before the coming of schools were more or less on a plane of equality with the men. But as soon as we take up the question of formal education the matter assumes a different aspect. The Empress Jingu might lead her army to victory on the shores of Korea and still not seem to be transgressing any law of consistency, for there was no such thing as formal education in her day. But when a system of education is introduced, a system founded upon the work and teachings of a man who did not believe in education women, it certainly would have been a strange thing if women had been allowed to be educated under it. A woman would have been as far out of place in such a school as she is now in the ranks of an army. Even Buddhism, when it started its school for "all" the people, meant that it was for "all" MEN only. Women were of an inferior type and should attend to domestic duties and hence did not need the profound training of the classics or the Buddhist Scriptures to fit them for their life work.

But however effective these forces may have been in shutting them out from the formal education of the schools,

they were not strong enough to prevent some women from achieving considerable education of no mean type. They received much of this from their mothers, so historians tell us, and these mothers, if we go back far enough in the chain, must have been vigorous women who took such an active part in the life of the nation in its earlier years. And even down as far as the Nara Period (710 to 794) and the Hei-an-Cho (800-1186) the lowering of their status due to the influences spoken of above had not yet gone so far as to relegate them to the position which they occupied during some of the later periods of Japanese history. The influence of their more active and self-assertive mothers was still strongly in evidence.

This home education often included a very fair knowledge of the classics, though it was considered proper for a woman to appear ignorant, no matter how erudite she might be. It is said that Murasaki Shikibu, the author of the greatest literary work of the period, a court lady, even feigned ignorance of the character,--because it was proper for a woman to seem to know nothing of writing and reading characters of any kind, no matter how little she may have expected those about her to believe in her statements.

But aside from books, most women were trained in sewing, dyeing, weaving, and other domestic arts. Etiquette was of the most vital importance to them as it was to the men, or perhaps it was even more value to the woman for it was a large part of their work in life to make themselves pleasing to others. This was especially true among the women of the upper classes who had hopes of being received at court, or even of becoming imperial concubines. In the case of girls of this class, no

pains of any kind were spared to make them polished, quiet, soft-spoken, gentle-mannered, and in general pleasing and attractive in the highest possible degree. Most of this excessive care was due not simply to the small ambition to have a daughter received at court, but to the fact that upon the influence of these mothers over the emperor the choice of the heir to the throne often hung, and upon this choice, in turn, hung the fate, politically and financially as well as socially, of many of the relatives and clansmen of the mothers of the various imperial children. So no pains were spared to make these ladies as polished, as erudite, as "finished" in every way as it was possible for them to be in order that they might meet their rivals on even grounds and be fit companions for learned sages statesmen, or poets as they came in contact with them in their life around the court.

All this extra labor and care was, of course, lavished only upon those ladies who had more or less connection with the court; just as all education for the men was to fit them for political life, so that of the women was to make them fit companions for their husbands. The men studied the classics and were supposed to learn how to rule by this means, and the women studied all the domestic arts and some of the classics as well in many cases. They also learned to play chess and other such games in order to be able to play them with their husbands and thus help them to forget the cares of official life when they returned home after their day's official work. This being an age of polygamy, not to be jealous was the greatest of all female virtues, for her to be jealous would have

disturbed her husband's peace of mind, and that was the last thing that any wife should think of doing.

An interesting side-light on the question of women's education during this era is given by the literature of the age. A goodly share of the poetry of the Nara Epoch, practically the only literature of that time, was written by women, and the *Genji Monogatari*, the master-piece of the Hei-an-Cho was the work of a woman too. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that the men were taken up with the study of the classics and of Chinese composition, looking upon Japanese composition and literature as unworthy of the attention of a man who pretended to be a scholar. Their writings, which were almost wholly on the subject of religion, government, science, or some other such solid subject, were all in the foreign language and of a very poor kind from a literary point of view, as we might expect them to be. They seem to have had a sort of supreme contempt for the *belle lettres* part of education as a whole and to have left that kind of thing to the women alone. The result is that the literature is of a rather quiet, refined, gentle character, with a good deal of sentiment in it. (See Chapter XII.)

To sum up the education of the women of this period, then, we may say that it consisted of training in household duties, feminine virtues, etiquette, and general polish, for those of the middle and upper classes with more or less knowledge of the classics in the case of women of the upper classes only and now and then a good deal of such learning. Among the lower classes there was nothing at all but the old training

by doing the things themselves.

At the end of the Hei-an-Cho, when the power of the court and the whole system of classical education around it went down, all the book or formal learning of the women went down with it, as a matter of course. When next we hear of any attention beyond the home training being paid to this kind of work we are well on in the Tokugawa Age, and by that time the sex had been relegated to a much lower position that it had formerly occupied. In fact, outside of home training and a little such knowledge as they might pick up in and around the home, the education of women has had very little attention until the present era.

CHAPTER XII.

The Aims and Effect of This System of Education.

It will be seen from the foregoing chapters that all real formal educational work of the nation centered about the University, with a very small element of scientific work in the Department of Medicine and of culture in the Department of Music and Dancing. The object of the former was to furnish official physicians who could attend to the wants of the higher classes, and it was one of the first if not the first of the educational activities of the government to decay and be handed over to private practitioners. The Department of Music and Dancing was to furnish artists skilled in these branches of activity who could entertain the court and the numerous nobles about it.

The Department of Astrology had even less real educational value than these two already described for it was merely a government bureau where men studied in order to be able to take up the work of their superiors when those men dropped out of the ranks. The so-called students of this kind were little more than apprentices and hence this branch of work had little or no real influence in educational way even upon the court which came much more directly in contact with this work than did the people of any other class, although, of course astrology was firmly believed in by people of all ranks. In fact, this faith in Chinese astrology was not at

all due to the work of the Department, but on the contrary, the establishment of the department was due to this belief among all classes that coming events could be foretold by such means as were used by these men and therefore an official bureau of this kind would be of the greatest value in state matters.

Setting aside, then, for our present purposes, all these departments and confining our attention to the University itself, let us try to get some idea of what the men of that time had in mind when they outlined the system of work pursued there. In other words what kind of men was this University expected to turn out?

In the first place, they were not to be either military or athletic men in any sense of the words. In the scheme of government introduced into Japan in the year 645, of which this University was a result, there was no high place for the soldier. He was relegated to the place where he has practically always been in China, one of the very lowest in the social scale. It was the civil official, not the military man, who was to occupy the highest seat in the hierarchy of the officialdom of that day. That this was against all precedent in the country previous to this time is perfectly plain. In all the ages of her history since the time of Jimmu Tenno, the military men of Japan had been the leaders and had often seized and held the reins of power by sheer force. Moreover, this quality had been most highly prized up to this time on account of the necessity of military force in dealing with the

trouble-some Ainu on the North and East, and in holding various other parts of the empire in subjection as well, for although by this time the Yamato race had become the dominant one, they had not come to this position without a struggle, and the whole history of Japan shows what a difficult matter it has always been to keep a firm hold upon all parts of the empire.

It is also true that the system did not succeed in keeping the military men down in this lowly place for a very long time. The reasons for this lie partly in the fact that the country was not ready for such a sweeping change as this was, and partly to the fact that the border lands on the North were still in danger from the Ainu and that there were turbulent subjects in other parts of the empire, thus making the soldier a necessity. And where a certain kind of man is a necessary kind that is the kind of man who is bound to become an important one if he is not already recognized as such. And where he has physical power, as the soldier has, he will become the master. At any rate, within two centuries after the establishment of this system, if not earlier, we find the beginnings of a military class, petty wars, open piracy, and much general disorder, all of them things which tend toward the rise of the power of the sword, and by the beginning of the thirteenth century the soldier had things pretty much in his own hand so far as real ruling went, in spite of the elaborate system of official about the court intended to keep him down.

But it must not be understood that the rise of these military men was allowed to give them a high place in the ranks of the society with which we are dealing at present. They still

had to keep their place in the lower ranks of the official hierarchy of the court for some centuries. The men who ruled the empire during the period which followed the Hei-an-Cho, who held the incomes and the positions of the officials in Kyoto entirely within their power, who were able at times to impoverish the great court nobles and even the imperial household as well, were obliged to stand back and allow these often petty and in later days powerless, but withal blue-blooded and erudite men of culture to take the precedence over them at all court functions. And this was not because the military men did not care for the empty honor of this sort of thing, for they often sought it and many of the Shoguns or military rulers had to forbid their followers to seek such court honors without special permission, because many of their retainers preferred this kind of culture with its empty pedantic honors to the real power which they held as vassals of the Shogun, the man who dictated to the emperor himself.

So this system had in it no place for the soldier as a member of cultured society, however much actual power he might wield, and that union of the poet and soldier or philosopher and soldier which make the Samurai of the story and of a certain kind of history in a matter of far later date, and has nothing to do with this period.

As to athletic training, the rules of the University allowed but one form of exercise, archery. This is, at best, but a very mild form of athletics, and must be supplemented by other more vigorous games if the muscular strength of the

student is really to be developed. But this limitation of all forms of exercise to this one sport was not at all the restriction which was put upon such matters. The word archery, to a Japanese or Chinese educator of that day meant something far less strenuous than it ever did to an English yeoman or does to a western man today. It meant simply a sort of ceremony which was to be performed with due dignity, in the course of which an arrow was let fly at a target. This may seem a stiffness and punctiliousness that would be unbearable to an Occidental archery enthusiast. Even at the present day, when the Japanese student archer picks up his bow and arrow and steps forward to aim and shoot at the target, there is a stiffness and a deliberation about it that robs it of all value as physical exercise. And in these early days it must really have been what these old school men intended it to be, a discipline in ceremony and correct "form" rather than a real sport.

These two elements of the education of the day being thus practically eliminated as important factors, we have no need to look further for any real physical training of other kinds, and we may now inquire what the real object was which was in the minds of the founders of the system.

In the first place, then, they aimed at making their students moral men. Shinto, the ancient religion of the Japanese, has no real code of morals whatever, and hence when the definite need of something of this kind was felt, there was nothing in this religion to satisfy it. Buddhism had been in the country for some little time when the school was

planned, and had brought a real code of morals with it when it came, but it had as yet not taken a very firm hold on the people. So when the Japanese scholars who went to China saw the greatness of that empire, built up, theoretically at least, on the moral code and the philosophy of Confucius, they wanted to see this greatness developed in their own country, and hence they brought these teachings back with them when they came, to be made the foundation of the new system of education. Thus when the University began work we find that the Confucian Analects and the Book of Filial Piety were the two most important texts on the list, the two which every student was compelled to master, in other words, they were required studies. That is, morals were to be studied whether the student ever got anything else or not.

The first of these two books is, as we have said before, simply a collection of short paragraphs, consisting of sayings of Confucius and some of his disciples. These short sayings form the main basis for all the teachings of Confucian morality outside of filial piety which is treated in a separate book, or rather pamphlet, for it is not a large work. It is impossible for one who has not given years of study to the teachings set forth in these books and to the results which they have produced in the lives of individuals and the history of nations which have come directly under their influence, to estimate their value. I shall, therefore, content myself with quoting from one or two writers who have a better right than I to speak on the question, and commenting on them.

One man in speaking of Confucianism as a doctrine has

said that it "has petrified a nation in the act of looking backwards, in spite of its good qualities." This means that in these teachings the ideas are so bound up with the great kings of the past, and that the sayings and doings of the ancient kings and great men are held up as far superior to all things present that these former rulers and sages have come to be regarded as the only persons worthy of imitation. This idea is harped upon to such an extent that it has caused all the followers of the doctrine to fix their eyes on that far-off golden age and to try to imitate the men of that time to such a degree that all progress has been stopped. That this opinion is more or less correct goes without saying when we consider the tremendous lethargy of the Chinese nation today even after a hundred years of contact with western civilization. That it did not do the same thing to Japan is due to the fact that there were other causes there which kept the Island Empire from any such complete stagnation, although there are not wanting sign of the same tendency in spite of the more active forces which make for progress.

But not all men agree with this writer on the question of the value of these teachings. In the year 1910, a rather prominent Japanese Christian, so-called, made the sober statement to the President of a great American Christian college that certain parts of the Bible were unfit for use and should be taken out, extracts from the works of Confucius being substituted for them.

Another man, a Chinese, in a monograph written after five years study in New York, says:- "The Chinese have the best

religion---Confucianism. All the good points of Christianity are found in Confucianism and besides Confucianism gives still more. The Chinese have the highest system of morality."

All three of these views are extreme, and it would hardly be fair to say that any one of them is really correct. It is certainly true that Confucius has done much for the moral life of the three nations which have come in contact with his teachings, and that such a man should rise in such an age, and should have left such lasting impressions is proof of his greatness and the value of his teachings. But on the other hand, in spite of the claims of his enthusiastic fellow countryman, this teaching of his was strictly limited. In the first place he held the usual Oriental view of woman, namely that she is far inferior to man, is incapable of being really educated, and must always be subject to some one of the stronger sex in the form of father, husband, or son. This, together with the teachings of Buddhism, paved the way for the indifference with which the fallen woman is regarded in Japan today as well as almost total lack of what is called in the West, chivalry, in any form.

Besides this, Confucius did not profess to know anything about religious matters. He believed in some great overshadowing power which he called "Ten" or "heaven", but he had no definite ideas as to the nature of this power and evidently he did not think it was possible to form any such ideas. Just what his thoughts along that line, such as prayer, immortality of the soul, etc. we can hardly tell, and it is very probable that he did not have any very clear opinion

on the matters.

A few short extracts from the Analects are given in the appendix, and for one who wishes to carry the study of the classics further, the translations by the Rev. Jas. Legge are available and will amply repay careful study if one is at all interested in the development of education as well as the social and political life of China, Japan, and Korea.

The book of Filial Piety, which is ranked alongside of the Analects in order of importance, is a very small volume or pamphlet, consisting of a series of short paragraph essays on various phases of filial piety, treating it from the standpoint of the son, the father, the ruler, the subject, etc. and holding it up in the same light as it appears in the Analects, as the virtue, par excellence, of Confucian morals.

The importance of this book and the high regard in which it was held in Japan can hardly be overestimated. Besides being one of the two books which all students of the University were required to master, the Enpress Koken (749-758) ordered every household in the land to provide itself with a copy. Nevertheless, it is true, as some one has said:--

"Considering that filial piety is the keystone of Chinese civilization, it is disappointing to find nothing more on the subject than a poor pamphlet of common-place and ill-strung sentences, which gives the impression of having been written to fill a void."

But little as it is, and insignificant as well, its constant presence and re-iteration has had a tremendous effect on the whole Japanese people. Confucius said, "There are three

thousand offences against which the five punishments are directed, and not one of them is greater than being unfilial." This sort of thing has been drilled into the minds of generation after generation of Japanese children from the time they were able to understand the simplest nursery tale to the end of their days, and now in this year of our Lord 1910, one of the most prominent Japanese educators of the day, a one-time vice-minister of education of exceptional ability writes two copious volumes in defence of this virtue, in which he sees the foundation of all Japanese morals and civilization, and which he now regards as in danger, not so much from a decline in the teaching of this virtue, as from the fact that other virtues have come in and have been accorded places of equal importance with this one. He defends with all the vigor of an able man the proposition that a man or woman should obey his or her father and mother in any and all circumstances whatever, and in any and all matters, with no possible excuse for not doing so in any case.

If this be the view taken by such a man in this age of broad culture and enlightenment, the ideas set forth in this book may very well have struck the earlier Japanese just emerging from a state of semi-barbarism, as of tremendous importance. So it is not strange that this virtue was exalted and made one of the corner stones if not the corner stone of all social and family life. To such an extent has this idea become ingrained in the Japanese nature that if you should ask any inhabitant of the empire what the foundation of their national and political life or rather of their whole system of civil-



ization is he would answer with a moment's pause, "Chuko", that is loyalty and filial piety. The source of the former is to be found in various events and phases of Japanese history, but the origin of the latter is to be seen here in these early beginnings of the introduction of Chinese learning into Japan and the events which grew out of this introduction. We may say, then, that so far as the inculcation of filial piety is concerned, either these early educators or some other force working along the same lines as they, did succeed very well indeed.

But besides making their students moral or filially pious men, these founders of the University had in mind the fact that their school was to be a place for the manufacturing of statesmen, men who could rule the nation, or at least were supposed to be able to do so. This again was an idea taken from the analects, in which we find this quotation from one of the disciplines of Confucius:—"The officer, when he has discharged all his duties should devote his leisure to learning. The student, when he has completed his learning should apply himself to be an officer." And so to the end of producing the proper kind of government officials the whole bent, of the more practical sort, of the two higher colleges of the University was directed. The books on Chinese history seem to have been studied largely for the purpose of finding out how the great men of ancient times had ruled, and thus how men should rule at all times and in all ages. Much of the material of the books was biographical, and bent out of the line of real history in the modern meaning of the word, as we have said before, and thus the student was not able to form a really correct idea of conditions. But besides such material

there was some real work in the science of government and administration, for even the lessons on loyalty and filial piety were inserted for the purpose of making the student a better administrator because of his possession of these virtues. But the benefits which might have been derived from such study were greatly vitiated by the fact that the times and conditions which were studied were greatly different from the ones with which the men had to deal after graduation, as well as by the fact that the student did not get a true idea of even those far-off times, and was thus left with little real or useful knowledge to help him in grasping and dealing with the vital problems of the day.

Closely related to this work in history was that of ordinary divination. The statesmen were not expected to do much of this sort of thing, but they were usually able to do more or less in the way of divining in all simple matters. Many of the events in the histories were written in such a way as to show that the predictions of the Inyo-shi, or court diviners, who divined by means of the Eki-kyo or book of Changes, were correct. But in spite of these things and the fact that the Shu-eki or book of Changes of the Shu Dynasty was among the texts used, the ordinary student was by no means expected to become a skillful diviner, for the government had in its employ men who were experts in this art and the official could always call upon them for assistance when occasion arose.

Another kind of books that were given a prominent place in the course of study were those on literature. In fact all the books used were more or less literary in form,

and had to do with the work of composition, for this was an art which was absolutely necessary for the statesman of that age. It must have been no light task to attain proficiency in this line, inasmuch as it meant composition in a foreign language. But nevertheless much stress was laid upon this point in University work, and in the examination which every candidate for political honors had to pass, style was regarded as a very important factor in the essays on political subjects, which formed the main bulk of the more important examinations.

This idea has come down to our day, and the official of the present time who makes a report to his superior often tries to put it into a really artistic or correct form. This tendency was seen on many occasions during the Russo-Japanese war, when many of the documents sent in by the higher officers were said to be fairly successful attempts at genuine literary productions, rather than of the "Veni-vidi-vici" or the "We-have-met-the-enemy- and-they-are-ours," style.

The study of literature and composition also included the writing of poetry as well as the study and reading of it, which is not so strange a matter when we consider that there are more or less fixed rules for the writing of both Japanese and Chinese poetry. The importance of their study is again a matter of imitation of the Confucianists. One of the disciples of the great sage once said:-

"One day he (my father) was standing alone when I passed below the hall with hasty steps, and he said to me, "Have you learned the Odes?" On my replying, 'not yet', he added, 'If you do not learn the odes you will not be fit to converse

with'. I retired and studied the Odes."

Such being the teaching of the great sage, it was necessary that the truly great official should be familiar with these poems, and a reference to the laws of Engi in the appendix will show that many of the higher men were expected to be something of poets. At the present time almost any Japanese of any education at all can write poems, and it is often a cause for surprise to them that Americans or Englishmen, even college graduates, cannot pen a poem as easily as they do themselves.

Last of all and most important of all, above all considerations of composition and literature, above all questions of morality, perhaps not higher in rank than loyalty and filial piety, but certainly far above any thought of competency or real ability in the management of practical affairs, came the knowledge of the rules of propriety. Over and over in the Analects we find that the "Rules of Propriety" are the things which it is absolutely necessary that everyone who pretends to any degree of learning or polite accomplishment must possess. It was largely the lack of this knowledge that made the men of the provinces, able and vigorous though they were and holding far more power than the accomplished courtiers of the capital, rank far below them.

Propriety meant, in this case, a most ceremonious observance of certain detailed and rigid rules of etiquette, amounting in some cases almost to rites or rituals. It has been said that if the life of a court official of Japan of that day were to be summed up in one word that word would be

"ceremony", and these court officials were the product of this University, the learned men of the time. Everything had to be done "decently and in order", that is, with the proper observance of ceremony. The regulations issued for the control of the University and embodied in the laws of the Fngi are more than half of them rules for the performance of the ceremonies in honor of Confucius, such attention to detail being given that almost every motion of the body is regulated according to the requirements of propriety and etiquette. It is said that sometimes three days were spent in consultations over the method of procedure in the ceremony of promoting a man from one rank to another or of investing him with some office.

At the present this tendancy toward ceremonial observance is seen in the punctilious manner in which formal meetings are carried on. At the beginning of any kind of meeting the chairman and all present must bow, and this must be repeated at the end of the meeting as well. When a speaker mounts the platform he must not only bow to the audience, but the audience must also bow to him, both when he begins and when he ends his speech. Every teacher, before he begins to teach his class must stand beside his desk, and make a bow and as he does this so every student must bow also, standing beside his own desk, and the same ceremony must be repeated at the end of the performance. Even tennis matches must begin with the same sort of performance, the opponents standing at the outer corners of the serving courts and bowing to each other. Still more clearly does it appear in the ceremonies that are held on

the great national festival days, when the stiffness and solemnity are almost appalling to a stranger who is accustomed to the more free and easy manners of the West. No high churchman of any persuasion was ever more of a stickler for ceremony than a Japanese on such occasions.

Many of these rules which were studied by these students of the University had to do with the matter of courtesy and the treatment of other persons, but whether the innate politeness of the nation in general (which is sometimes denied though generally admitted) is mainly due to this cause or not it is impossible for anyone to say with certainty.

As this was the most important branch of study in the work of preparation for becoming an official, we naturally find a correspondingly large amount of time given to it in the scheme of studies. These are no less than three out of the seven books used in the College Ethics and the Science of Government treating of this subject alone, and there is more or less of it in some of the other texts. Moreover, if we count up the time allowed for the mastering of these three books and use that as a measure of the importance attached to them, we find that they occupy fully one half of the time allotted to the student for all work outside the Analects and the Book of Filial Piety, the other half being devoted to history, the science of government, literature, ethics, and divination.

Turning now to the College of Law, we find that the object seems to have been simply to familiarize the student

with the laws and edicts of ancient China as well as with those of his own land. In this then, the college did not differ much from law schools in other lands unless it be in the fact that so much attention was paid to the work of other lands, though in the beginning this was more or less of a necessity as there were no written laws and very few edicts in Japan at that time.

The College of Mathematics was evidently intended to fit men for the more unwelcome drudgery of calculating accounts and other similar work. All the books used seem to treat of subjects of real practical importance, so far as we have been able to find out what they treated of at all. The graduates of this part of the University seem to have passed on mainly to offices in the tax, census, and treasury departments where calculation of one kind and another was a large part of the work.

These, then, briefly, seem to be the ideas which the founders of the University had in mind when work began in that direction. Of course there was more or less deviation from this plan in minor matters, but it may be said with practical assurance that it did not deviate from them much from the time it was established in the seventh century till it passed out of existence in the twelfth. How far the students who studied in it realized the ideals which the founders had in mind for them is a difficult matter to determine. Even to get a clear idea of what they were trying to do is a difficult task, and to form any conception of what they actually did accomplish is

still harder for many reasons. In the first place, the time is so remote that the records are few and obscure; and in the second place, the records which we do find are not always to be trusted implicitly, for they often commit that fault so common in diplomatic writing, perhaps especially in the East, but not rare anywhere, of stating what the writers wished to make people think was the case, but which often was not the whole truth. Moreover, the success of this, as of any other enterprise, must be judged from various standpoints and by different standards of ability and morals. But if we try to get an idea of the state of affairs in Japan, especially of the life of the court, during the next few centuries after the founding of this institution, we may form at least a partial judgement of what was accomplished.

In the first place, then, if we look at the matter from the standpoint of morals, we find that, as has already been said, loyalty and filial piety were the chief virtues. They seem, also, to have been fairly well instilled into the life of the nation in some way, while all other matters of moral import were more or less pushed into the back-ground. At least according to some historians they do not appear very prominently in the lives of the courtiers of the day. Loyalty, however, was not fostered by the University alone, but by the deliberate and systematic inculcation of mikado worship as well. How much credit is due to the teachings of the University and how much to other causes cannot be ascertained, but it is certainly true that although Japan has had her share of civil war and other men than the emperor have usurped the real power, no subject,

with one exception, has ever directly aimed at the occupation of the throne unless he had some real claim to it by birth. And this one attempt was frustrated by another subject, who risked his life to prevent the matter from being consummated.

Numerous other instances might be given which seem strange to many eyes, but which must be put down to the intense feeling of loyalty and reverence for the emperor which pervades the whole nation. And this was the virtue which the University put in the very fore-front of its moral teachings, but whether it did so as the result of such feelings or whether the feelings were partly due to the teachings cannot be told.

As for filial piety, which came next to loyalty in the ranks of the virtues, we have seen before that it was perhaps regarded as a virtue long before the University came into existence. But certainly the constant practice of compelling every student to master the Book of Filial Piety and the Analect which are filled with this idea, coupled with the fact that a large part of the history then studied was written for the purpose of inculcating this virtue, must have tended, at least, to increase its strength.

Turning now to the question of the success or failure of the University in its attempt to produce statesmen, we can perhaps do no better than to quote a paragraph or two from Murdoch's History of Japan, the best work of the kind hitherto published. It is very carefully compiled history, but written by a man who admires the sterner virtues more than refinement, especially if that refinement be tinged with effeminacy. He says of this period, the Hei-an-Cho:-

"What was needed at this period was a strong and efficient central administration with thoroughly capable and trustworthy agents in the various provincial posts. But during the three reigns (of the three learned emperors) there was no Chancellor of the Empire; down to 833, only a single one of the Two Great Ministers of the Left and the Right, while at one time all three great officers had been vacant for two years. For the sovereign to act as his own Prime Minister would have been highly beneficial if he had been a Kwammu and had construed the duties of his Imperial office as Kwammu had done. But Saga, Junna, and Nimmyo found it more congenial to act as the arbiters of taste and fashion in clothes and exotic belle lettres than to spend laborious days holding provincial and district officers to a strict discharge of their onerous responsibilities. Instead of forming a school of administrators with a stern sense of public duty and a creed of honest work, they reared an ever-pullulating brood of greedy, needy, frivolous diletanti as often as not foully licentious, utterly effeminate, incapable of any worthy achievement, but withal the polished exponents of high breeding and correct "form". Now and then a better man did occasionally emerge; but one just man is impotent to avert the doom of an intellectual Sodom. And the one just man not infrequently appeared in the shape of a portentously learned but hopelessly arid and frigid pedant. And it was from those formed in the great aristocratic schools of Kyoto that the public service was to be recruited. A pretty showing, indeed, these pampered minions and bew powdered poetasters might be expected to make as administrators in the wilds of Echigo

or the Kwanto. Even if honestly inclined - which in the majority of cases he was not- such an official found himself unfitted by his training to grapple with the stern realities of the situation. One result was the great stretches of the Empire were soon seething with disorder that occasionally threatened to assume the dimensions of anarchy. As early as 862, the Inland Sea pirates had had the audacity to pillage the Bizen rice-tax on its way to the capital, after killing the officer in charge. In 866, Settsu, Izumi, Harima, Bizen, Bingo, Aki, Suwo, Nagato, and all the provinces of the Nankaido were infested by swarms of free-booters, whose outrages were ceaseless. A little later on, and the state of affairs had become as bad in many other sections of the country. Just as the contemporary descendants of the Vikings contributed to the growth of the feudal system in France, so this unbridled lawlessness greatly favored the spread of those old manors which ultimately rung the knell of the imperial power and the old civilian government of Kyoto."

This is perhaps a strong statement, possibly over strong in some ways, but it has in it much of truth, and points to some of the weak places in the central ideas of the system of education then in force, and to many of the reasons for its downfall. Moreover, it cannot be denied or even seriously questioned that the system did not really produce men capable of dealing with the situation at that time in Japan. The old Chinese maxims of government and ways of ruling had two serious defects which rendered them weak at any time, but especially so at that time. In the first place, it is taken

for granted that if the ruler is an upright man, the people will all, without fail, follow his example. This is not true always, as the case goes without saying, but besides this general truth, very few of the statesmen of that day were upright men and hence all the force that this idea might have in better circumstances was completely vitiated. In the second place, they seem to have thought a good deal of that principle of the science of government used by the Chinese, which can best be expressed in the rather rough statement used by the Chinese, "what you can't see won't hurt you." That is, by ignoring unpleasant things they may be regarded as having ceased to be. Instances of such things as this are numerous in the history of the Kyoto court, and that this idea has held on in China to modern times is shown by the action of the Senate in Peking when it met for the first time after the outbreak of the revolution in 1911. On that occasion not one word was uttered that even hinted at any disturbance, and in one of the official speeches it was said that the empire was enjoying peace and prosperity. And all this in spite of the fact that nearly half of the realm was in the hands of the revolutionists. A few days later things had to be taken cognizance of, though at first meetings the whole matter was ignored.

But in spite of its defects, this University did send out men who held their offices and a goodly share of the power for three or four hundred years, though it seems more likely that they did so on account of their natural ability and diplomatic skill rather than because of the training in

Chinese lore that they received in the institution.

Turning now to the matter of literature, we may quote Mr. Aston, who says in his book on Japanese Literature, in regard to the Nara Epoch, (710-794):-

"Learning, by which in Japan, is, or rather ~~was~~, meant the study of the masterpieces of Chinese antiquity, had made great progress. The Mikado Tenchi (662-671) established schools, and we hear later of a University under government auspices which comprised the four faculties, viz., history, the Chinese classics, law, and arithmetic.

This, it should be observed, was for the benefit of the official classes only. It was not until many centuries later that education reached the common people. There were also teachers, (mostly Koreans) of painting, medicine, and the glyptic arts. The colossal bronze statue of Buddha, and some remarkable sculptures in wood which are still to be seen at Nara, testify to the skill which the Japanese had then acquired in the last-named arts.

Of even greater importance was the advance in the art of architecture. This was ultimately associated with Buddhism, a cult which demanded stately temples and pagodas for its due exercise. The increased authority of the court also required edifices more befitting its dignity and more in consonance with the gorgeous costumes and ceremonial adopted from China than the old one-reign palaces."

So much for the general back-ground of civilization of the time, the foundation upon which the literature was built. In speaking directly of the literature itself he says:-

"While the eighth century has left us little or no prose literature of importance, it was emphatically the golden age of poetry. Japan had now outgrown the artless effusions described in a preceding chapter, and during this period produced a body of verse of an excellence which has never since been surpassed. The reader who expects to find this poetry of a nation just emerging from the barbaric stage of culture characterized by rude, untutored vigor, will be surprised to learn that, on the contrary, it is distinguished by polish rather than power. It is delicate in sentiment and refined in language, and displays exquisite skill of phrase with a careful adherence to certain canons of composition of its own.

The poetry of this and the following period was written by and for a very small section of the Japanese nation. The authors, many of them women, were either members of the Mikado's court, or officials temporarily staticated in the province, but looking to the capital as their home. We hear nothing of any popular poetry. On the other hand, the faculty of writing verse was universal among the higher classes. Nearly every educated man or woman could indite a Tanka (poem of 31 syllables) on occasion. There were no voluminous writers. It was not the custom to publish the poems of individual authors separately. Had it been so, very thin volumes indeed would have been the result. Collections were made at intervals, by Imperial authority, in which the choice poems of the preceding period were brought together, and if twenty or thirty Tanka of one poet found a place there, it was sufficient to give him or her a distinguished position.

The poetry of the Nara period has been preserved to us in one of these anthologies, known as the "Manyoshu" or "Collection of one Thousand Leaves". According to the usual account, it was completed early in the ninth century. The poems contained in it belong chiefly to the latter half of the seventh and first half of the eighth century of the Christian Era, and cover a period of about a hundred and thirty years. They are classified as follows: Poems of the affections, elegiac, allegorical, and miscellaneous poems. They number in all more than four thousand pieces, of which the great majority are Tanka or short poems of thirty-one syllables. The remainder are for the most part "Naga-uta", or so-called "Long Poems". Among them, however, two poets stand out with some degree of eminence - viz., Itomaro and Akahito. The former flourished at the end of the seventh century, the latter in the reign of Shomu (724 - 756). Little is known of either, further than that they were officials of the Mikado's court, and attended him on some of his progresses through the provinces."

Of the latter part of the period which we are now considering, namely, the Hei-an-cho (800-1186), Mr. Aston says:-

"With the founding of Hei-an-jo (Kyoto) the wave of progress which received its impulse from the combined influences of Chinese learning and the Buddhist religion reached its height and a period of great material prosperity ensued. But the usual results were not long in manifesting themselves.

The ruling classes became indolent and luxurious, and neglected the arts of government for the pursuit of pleasure. There was a great laxity of morals, as the literature of the period abundantly shows; but learning flourished and a high state of refinement prevailed in that narrow circle which surrounded the Mikado and his court.

The Hei-an Period is the classical period of Japanese literature. Its poetry may not quite reach the standard of the Manyoshu, but it contains much that is of admirable quality, while in the abundance and excellence of its prose writings it leaves the Nara Periods far behind. The language had now attained to its full development. With its rich system of terminations and particles, it was a pliant instrument in the writer's hands, and the vocabulary was varied and copious to a degree which is astonishing when we remember that it was drawn almost exclusively from native sources. The few words of Chinese origin which it contains seem to have found their way in through the spoken language and are not taken straight from Chinese books, as at a later stage when Japanese authors loaded their periods with alien vocables to an extent for which our most Johnsonian English affords a feeble parallel.

The Literature of the Hei-an Period reflects the pleasure loving and effeminate, but cultured and refined character of the class of Japanese who produced it. It has no serious, masculine qualities, History, theology, science, law, - in short, all learned and thoughtful works - were composed in the Chinese language and were of poor literary quality. The native literature may be described in one word as belles-

lettres. It consists of poetry, fiction, diaries, and essays of a desultory kind, called by the Japanese Zuihitsu, or "following the pen", the only exceptions being a few works of a more or less historical character which appeared towards the close of the period.

The lower classes of the people had no share in the literary activity of this time. Culture had not as yet penetrated beyond a very narrow circle. Both writers and readers belonged exclusively to the official caste.*****

It is a remarkable, and, I believe, an unexampled fact, that a very large and important part of the best literature which Japan has produced was written by women. We have seen that a good share of the Nara poetry is of feminine authorship. In the Bei-an period the women took a still more conspicuous part in maintaining the honor of the native literature. The two greatest works which have come down to us from this time are both women. This was no doubt partly due to the absorption of the masculine intellect in Chinese studies, and to the contempt of the stronger sex for such frivolous pursuits as the writing of poetry and romances. But there was a still more effective cause. The position of women in ancient Japan was very different from what it afterwards became when Chinese ideas were in the ascendant. The Japanese of this early period did not share the feeling common to most eastern countries, that women should be kept in subjection, and, as far as possible, in seclusion. Feminine chieftains are frequently mentioned in the old histories, and several even of the Mikados were women. ***** Many instances might be quoted of

Japanese women exercising an influence and maintaining an independence of conduct quite at variance with our preconceived notions of the position of women in the East, It is this which gives their literary work an air of freedom and originality which it would be vain to expect in the writings of the inmates of a harem."

The general idea which we may glean from this and other sources is that the University, in its direct bearing upon literature, was, in some respects, rather a detriment than a real help. The poetry of the Nara Epoch, which was early in the life of the institution, was of a better quality than that of the latter part of the period which we are now considering, when the educational system of which the University was the center had had time to influence the men who came in contact with it to a greater extent. The best of the prose literature, which can be called literature, was largely written by women, a class absolutely unconnected with any institution of learning and with but little knowledge of Chinese lore of any kind.

But we must not conclude from all this that the educational system of the time and the system of government of which it was an integral part were wholly detrimental to literary pursuits. They undoubtedly created an atmosphere of culture and refinement and produced a leisure class whose feminine members, not being filled with Chinese notions, nor overloaded with Chinese learning, could devote themselves to this work. They were therefore, not only not wholly or directly antagonistic to, but were really indirectly helpful, or we

say almost indispensable to this phase of progress when viewed from this broader standpoint..

Rather long quotations have been made from these two authors because their opinions are those of men who have studied the political and literary situation of that time with a thoroughness that few foreigners have been able to do, and few Japanese have taken the trouble to do. They have given us an impartial estimate of what the real state of affairs at that time was, a situation due partly to the imposition of a system of government and education wholly foreign to the country in many ways, a system which has not worked well even in the country of its birth. For in spite of the claims of our friend whose remarks on the superiority of Confucianism and Chinese learning and literature we quoted a few pages back, no impartial student of the history of China can fail to see the stagnating influence which the system has had there. It could, therefore, hardly be expected to fit an alien people, and this more especially when some of its best features had been stuck out by cutting off the democratic element in it, thus cutting off all hope of degenerate members of the upper classes being replaced by new and more vigorous blood from the ranks of the common people.

This culture reached its height some time about the ninth century, under the three learned emperors, Saga, Junna, and Nimmuo (810-850) or a little later. From 823 to 850 private schools were established to meet the demands for educational facilities and everything in the way of learning as

it was understood by these men seemed to be in a flourishing condition. The scholar learned in all kinds of Chinese lore was the great man and things had come to such a pass that political preferment depended almost wholly upon success in the state examinations, and these examinations were dominated so completely by the Chinese idea that the questions asked were upon political situations in ancient China instead of contemporary Japan.

But such a system as this could not be the foundation of any lasting greatness. The dryness and barren pedantry of much of the work done, because of the use of a foreign language so difficult to master that it squeezed every bit of freedom and originality out of anyone who tried to use it, was added to the natural conservative tendencies of all Confucian and Buddhist teachings. This made real progress along the lines of work which were then followed, impossible, much less along other lines. This lack of progress meant stagnation in educational lines and there was nothing in the other features of the sterile and effeminate culture of the court to bring forth men capable of dominating the vigorous, though half-barbarous men of the provinces. The looseness of the reins of government gave opportunity for the most daring piracy and robbery, and soon the land was filled with violence of all kinds. Things went from bad to worse till the rise to power and the tyranny of Kiyomori gave cause to the Genji to rebel. Thus began the war of these two clans, the Genji and the Heishi, and it did not end till the whole situation had been completely changed, and the day of the civilian official filled with Chinese lore was

gone forever.

All this meant that the system of education which depended upon the court for its support was doomed to fall with the court, and it did fall some time in the twelfth century, as we have seen in our chapter on the history of the University which was its center. With the disappearance of this institution and its dependencies, the field of education was left open to the Buddhists, who were already in the field to some extent, and who reigned as supreme in these matters in Japan as did the monks of the Middle Ages in Europe. In some ways their monopoly of learning was even more strict than that of the European monks, for in the early days of the seventeenth century when a certain layman tried to start a school and lecture to students, the priests protested, saying that since the time of Ashikaga Shoguns (1338-1568) no one but priests had been allowed to gather students and to lecture to them on the classics. Their protest was successful enough to compel even those who did not wish to do so, to enter the priesthood if they wished to become teachers, for some fifty years after this first attempt to throw off their yoke.

But it must not be inferred from any of the statements made or quoted in this chapter that the educational system of this period did not really affect the national life of Japan. It did not change all the native characteristics of the people in the few centuries that it was at its height, for it was too much of an exotic and too much confined to the court and its appanages for that. But if we compare the civilization of

the Japanese before the coming of Chinese learning, in the time of the Empress Jingu, with that of the later wei-an-Cho we can see what enormous advances had been made since the earlier time. Moreover, it laid a foundation of Chinese learning in the educational thought of Japan which has never been uprooted.

The characters which the Japanese boy reads in his book today are all direct or indirect descendants of the ones taught in this ancient seat of learning. Chinese philosophy, as it became more fully understood in relation to the needs of the Japanese people and was united to the hard-headed common-sense of the later Samurai, dominated the whole nation completely for a long time and does so still to a very great extent. So whatever may have been the shortcomings of this system of education, or of the system of philosophy, or of the whole of Chinese learning taken together, the work of this period endured long after much of the outward form which it had set up for itself had gone down in the fierce struggles of the civil war, and the effects, therefore, of the work of the Kyoto period have never been effaced and this age had its educational ideals deserve to be remembered as among the greatest, if not as the greatest in the whole history in the whole history of the country, either politically or educationally.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Dark Ages or The Period of Transition.

When the battle of Dan-no-urs, near Shimonoseki, was ended, the whole of the strength of the Taira family, or the Heishi, was annihilated and the Minamotos, or the Genji, were left in control of the general affairs of the country. One might suppose from this, inasmuch as the then head of the family, Yoritomo, was a man of great ability and genius, that for a while at least he would keep civil commotions in check. He built himself a capital in the easter part of the empire, the city of Kamakura, which soon rivalled in glory the great capital city of Kyoto itself. But able as he undoubtedly was, he could not found a stable government, and for four hundred years more there was almost constant fighting all over the country. Each of the daimyo tried to enlarge his own domain at the expense of his neighbor, and the sword was far more respected than the pen. In other words, the educated, refined, but incapable official of the old regime in Kyoto had to give way to the rough, uncouth, illiterate, but hard-headed and strong-armed warrior who had been bred in the provinces.

Fire, earthquake, famine and pestilence also added their horrors to the distress of the unhappy and impoverished citizens of Kyoto. Even the emperor was reduced to such straits at some times during this period that people sold tea

in the court-yards of the palace and the emperor himself wrote autograph poems for money. Sometimes the dead were left unburied because there was not sufficient money for funeral-expenses. This happened in one case even to an emperor.

The effect of all this on education can readily be seen. The court and the nobles who surrounded it were too poor to rebuild the University after it was burned in the latter part of the twelfth century. These misfortunes had overtaken them and the Shogun held all the real power. He also kept a firm grip on the purse-strings of the country as well, giving to the court only such an allowance as he saw fit. And since he cared little or nothing for education, it is not strange that he did not think it necessary to make any allowance for such work in the expense account of the court. Thus Kyoto was left without schools, and if we may believe the chronicles of the day, with very little teaching of any kind, even of a desultory character being done anywhere by anyone.

A few of the provincial schools seem to have survived for a while, but how long they succeeded in keeping themselves from dissolution is a question which will perhaps never be answered. Most of them died a death akin to slow starvation, from want of real support on the part of their former patrons, as we have said before. The daimyo who wanted to enlarge his domain or who was compelled to defend his own borders against some aggressive neighbor, had little use for the Chinese classics as compared with swords and spears. The man who could swing his huge two-handed sword to good purpose and could shoot his arrows with strength and accuracy was far more valuable under

these circumstances than the sedate wise-acre who knew so much about books but who could not tell one end of a spear from the other. True, the idea of civil rank, as rank, still remained and the poor, powerless blue-bloods of Kyoto took precedence over the hardhitters of Kamakura still. But outside of Kyoto, and even there in all real matters of power and administration, the military men were in the lead, and where they led there was no place for the sage.

There seem to have been but two spots in the empire where a man who cared to learn and who did not want to go directly to a Buddhist temple to do so, could get any help in this line, unless he was fortunate enough to find and be able to pay a private teacher. The first of these was the Ashikaga Gakko, or Ashikaga School, situated in the town of Ashikaga, not far north of the city of Tokyo, and the other was the Kanazawa Bunko, or Kanazawa Library, a sort of scholars retreat not far away from Kamakura.

This Ashikaga Gakko was founded very early in the history of education of Japan, perhaps in 832. We know little of its early history, for it was then only one among many schools in this country. In 1439 Uesugi Norizane was governor of all the eastern part of Japan, and chose to take some interest in this little spark of educational fire that still burned in this small town. He appointed a priest named Kwaigen as head of the institution. This man was one of the learned men of his time and like most men of his kind during this period, he belonged to one of the Go-zan* or five temple

*See page

to the Kamakura group. From this time on the successive heads of this school were always chosen from among this set of priests in the shogun's capital. Books were scarce articles at this time and Uesugi collected many and added them to the library of the school, and did all else in his power to make it prosper. In the beginning this had been a strictly Buddhist school, but under such distinguished patronage it is not strange that other things besides the scriptures were studied there. The classics were received into the curriculum rather early in its history and at last we even find books on military tactics as well. It seems to have reached the height of its prosperity about the last half of the sixteenth century, from 1558 to 1591. During this time a priest named Kyukwa was the head of the school and it had more than a thousand students in attendance. This is not very surprising when we remember that it was the only school in the whole empire, and it must have been a sight to delight the heart of a scholar, the one oasis in a desert of ignorance and neglect.

The Kanazawa Library, the other of the two resorts for sages was probably founded by Hojo Sanetoki about the year 1134 and was added to by other members of the Hojo family from time to time. Hojo Akitoki was especially active in this work and is sometimes said to be the founder of the library, though what he really did was only to enlarge it. This institution seems not to have felt the awakening that came late in the sixteenth century, for it showed no sign of revival at all. It may be that it was too near to Kamakura, the

capital of Edo (Tokyo). While it was in the town of Kanazawa, however, it was a very popular place among certain classes of people and was much resorted to by lovers of books who had learned to read Chinese well and hence could make use of the volumes collected there. Books which were once in this library are to be met with here and there even now and are very highly prized on account of their rarity.

These two institutions seem to have formed the chief educational centers during this period as there was nothing else done in the way of teaching beyond the private instruction given by some few men and that done by the priests in the temples. Of private teaching there must have been some here and there, though even in the capital, the one time educational center of the empire, there was sometimes a complete dearth of men who could teach any thing. It is said that one young man who searched the whole city of Kyoto for some one who could teach him the four Chinese classics, and finally, after a long search, found one man who volunteered to do so. But after having taught the young aspirant three of the four books, the learned man hemmed and hawed and finally said that he had lent his copy of the fourth to some one else and hence he could not teach the young man that one. The truth was, so the story goes, that he had reached the limit of his ability to teach, and did not care to acknowledge the fact.

Things were even worse at Kamakura, as we might expect them to be. The men who surrounded the military ruler of the empire cared as little for learning as any European knight of

of the middle ages who hired a priest to write his letters and read his masses, and signed his own name with a signet. A letter sent to the shogun at some time during this period caused a tremendous search before anyone could be found to read it, for anything beyond a few of the most common ideographs and the characters of the Japanese syllabary seems to have been considered as entirely superfluous by these rough and ready men of East Japan.

The most highly educated men of this time were the priests, and the most learned of them were the men in the so-called Go-zan or Five Temples. There were two sets of these temples, one in Kyoto and the other in Kamakura, and these men were really quite erudite for their time. It is said of some of them that they preferred the work of the profession of letters to that of their more spiritual affairs. They collected libraries, taught such of the courtiers and even of the military men as cared to learn and could afford it, and did something, though probably not much, in the way of educating the common people.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the countires toward the western end of the main island seem to have been a relatively more prosperous than the rest of the empire, and some attempt was made at education by a few of the daimyo of that district. It was not much of a success, however, even though men were brought from the Kyoto Go-zan to assist in the work. Beyond the passing on of their knowledge to their successors, these men probably did little more than to teach such of the local nobility and other men of high

rank as cared to learn from them.

Such desultory work as this was done in many parts of the country and slowly developed into what gradually came to be one of the great educational institutions of the country, the temple schools or Terakoya, which have been spoken of before in chapter X. These Terakoya were very similar to the monks' schools of Europe during the Middle Ages. During the first part of the time that such work was done in these places, the students must have been from the ranks of the common people to a very great extent, but as the civil wars went on and all the other schools were closed and it became increasingly difficult to get private teachers, the higher classes, the Samurai and the nobility were driven to the temples to be taught by the priests if they wanted to be taught at all. Gradually, as this came to be more of a fixed custom, some time in the thirteenth or fourteenth century some of these places where there were enough students to do so, seem to have organized themselves into a sort of schools and special priests took up the work of teaching as their only business, and thus the real schools or Terakoya came into existence.

They were evidently fairly well recognized as educational institutions by the end of the period we are now considering for such men as Oda Nobunaga and even the great Tokugawa Ieyasu, learned their letters (or ideographs) in Terakoya, the former in one connected with a temple in Nagoya and the latter in the Chigen-in, a temple near Kamakura.

The work done in these schools was practically only that demanded by the students since it was from them that the

first move in this direction came. This meant nothing but the art of writing and not any too much of that. The children of merchants or farmers, when they attended, may have had a little instruction in arithmetic, and now and then a few students went on to study the classics, etiquette, history, composition and other branches such as had been taught in the old provincial schools and in the University. Such students were rare, however, for in these stirring times among the upper classes and such hard times among the lower, going to school was regarded by most people as a waste of time.

In order to implant some little knowledge in the minds of their students beyond the mere mechanical art of writing, the good priests resorted to the scheme of setting religious maxims and sentences containing other useful kinds of information as copies. When the student had learned to write the characters it was necessary that he should know the meaning of the epigram, and this gave the needed opportunity to explain and expound its significance.

The main reason for learning to write in those days was to be able to carry on correspondence, so very soon the priests found a still further method of cramming, a little extra information into the heads of these young calligraphic enthusiasts. They made collections of all kinds of letters to be used as forms for copying, much as our books on business correspondence are made today. But in their case they used all conceivable kinds of letters and put into them many different varieties of information.

Such a system and such a method could not have resulted in what we would call a very thorough education, but they were better than nothing. What the results really were it is hard to tell, but such as it was, this system served to keep alive the idea of education during the darkest period of the nation's history, and it even gave to the common people a chance to get a little of this kind of help, a thing which they had not been able to get under the old government system of Mei-an-Cho.

Some persons may wonder whether the Christian missionaries who did so much work in Japan the years between the landing of Francis Xavier in 1540 and the complete suppression of Christianity a little after 1600, did not make some effort along educational lines. They did a little to enlighten the minds of a few Japanese on some subjects, but they did not do much. Fire-arms came in with the western commerce which accompanied the missionaries, as did a few other things, but there seems to have been no effort to educate the people. We read of one school, a theological seminary, under the auspices of the Jesuits, at Funai, in Kyushu. The students here were given some sort of general education as well as a religious one for we find that the institution was established by Father Valegnani, who favored a rather general education for the Japanese evangelists and opposed the views of some of his colleagues who were afraid to let them learn too much lest they despise their teachers.!

Another school was built at Azuchi, the castle town of Oda Nobunaga on the shores of Lake Biwa, near Kyoto. It

was moved to Takatsuki when Azuchi was sacked in 1582 and later on to Osaka.

The Christian daimyo of Arima, Kyushu, established a school in which Latin, Portuguese, painting, clock-making etc. were taught. Still another was established on an island called Amakusa, off the coast of Kyushu, to which the Jesuits were driven by government pressure and slight persecutions under Hideyoshi at the beginning of his opposition to Christianity. The concentration of the Jesuits on this island makes it no matter for wonder that this school produced a large number of books on Christianity and a Latin-Portuguese-Japanese Dictionary. Both these schools were completely destroyed in 1598 by the orders of Hideyoshi.

Again in 1599 we find a band of thirty students under the leadership of a bishop moving to Amakusa Island and establishing themselves there in safety owing to the friendly attitude of Ieyasu. What became of them later we are not told, but they probably disappeared in the war of extermination that was waged on Christianity in every form and against all foreign intercourse, ideas, or teachings whatever.

These schools were not allowed to work long enough to have any real effect on the people. We find occasional traces of the influence of Christian teaching in the later history of the empire, but even that is so slight as to be almost negligible, hence the effect of the schools alone must have been almost nothing at all.

There was a slight revival of interest in learning not long before the end of the sixteenth century. It did not

show itself in any very especial way in the schools of the time, either those in the temples or the Ashikaga Gakko, but was rather a growing movement among some men in the empire toward a bettering of the state of affairs in the educational world by a revival of interest in such things in a general way. It was simple the first dawning light of the new educational day that was to break over the empire after her night of four or five hundred years of scholastic darkness.

The real morning star of this new dawn was, Fujiwara Seigwa, a man who, in his early years had studied for the priesthood. This sort of thing did not seem to satisfy him, however, for he liked the classics better than the scripture. So he gave up his idea of taking orders and then protested against the monopoly of the work of teaching by the priests. His protest brought him to the notice of Hideyoshi, who invited him to lecture in his presence, as did also Ieysasu a little latter.

After having tried to go to China and failed, he retired to a village near Kyoto where he spent his time in studying and in doing some teaching. This last he must have done in a rather private manner, for there seems to have been no protest on the part of the priests against his doing so, even though he was a layman, and in spite of the fact that only a few years later they compelled Seigwa's disciple, Hayashi Doshun, to shave his head and take orders before they would allow him to collect his students and lecture to them publicly. Among the men who came to sit at the feet of this lay sage were court

nobles and daimyo and there is no doubt that in doing this work among these classes he was sowing seed which later sprang up and bore fruit when the light of real peace had fully dawned upon Japan. He was born a little too early, however, to take part in the actual work of inaugurating the new educational movement which began under Ieyasu, for although this first Tokugawa ruler invited him to found a school in Kyoto and later requested him to come to Edo (Tokyo) and work there, wars stopped the first effort and both Ieyasu and Seigwa died before the second could be accomplished.

There are, in general, the educational forces which were in operation in Japan during her dark ages. They were certainly few and feeble, but they served to keep the spark of learning alive and when the peace came under the strong, wise rule of the Tokugawas, men turned back to his work again, and in some circles at least, education again flourished.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Shogunate University.

Tokugawa Ieyasu, the first of the last dynasty of shoguns, was one of the greatest statesmen, if not the greatest man that Japan has ever produced. He made himself master of all Japan, just as Yoritomo and Hideyoshi had done, but he accomplished far more than they were able to do. They were able to bring the country into subjection to themselves, but had not the political wisdom to devise a system that would make the power of their successors stable enough so that they could continue to occupy the same high position as the original conqueror had filled. The Hojo regents soon set the descendants of Yoritomo aside and Ieyasu himself put the son of Hideyoshi out of the way. Coming to the office of shogun in 1603, the great statesman set to work to organize his government in such a way that even though many of his descendants should be men of mediocre talents, nevertheless, they should still sit on his seat and the country would be well ruled. It is not strange then to find that he saw great danger to the country in the lack of schools and in the appalling ignorance of both the upper and the lower classes.

Even before he had become shogun he had established a school for priests at Fushimi, near Kyoto. It was not much of a success, but it indicates his interest in these things.

After he took up the work of re-organizing the government, he still continued to patronize men of letters. He often invited Fujiwara Sieigwa, the foremost lay scholar of the day, to lecture to him on the classics and later went so far as to order Seigwa and his disciple, Hayashi Doshun, to found a school in Kyoto, as we have seen in a former chapter. The Osaka wars prevented the carrying out of this plan, and before Ieyasu's next scheme, that of bringing Seigwa to Edo and having him found a school there, both Ieyasu and Seigwa died.

But even though Ieyasu was unable to carry out his project of founding a school, he laid down some principles in a series of Regulations for the Military class, written by Hayashi Doshun, but inspired by himself and embodying his ideas, which had a very direct bearing upon educational matters as well as upon the whole question of the administration of the empire. The very first of these regulations stated that the study of literature and the arts of war, archery, and horsemanship should be diligently prosecuted or practised, and it was this idea which formed the main basis upon which every school for the military class, the samurai, was founded, as we shall see. And so it was the carrying out of this principle that produced the samurai of this later period, the Bushi of song and story, who united literary skill and military prowess and was, at his best, a living example of that "Bushido" of which we so often hear and which we so much admire.

Another of these regulations forbade all licentious amusements and excessive drinking. Still another condemned

all efforts to overflow the existing regime. These set the moral and political standard to be aimed at and we find these two at least fairly well enforced so far as the schools were concerned.

These regulations were among the last acts of Ieyasu, as he died the year after they were promulgated, in 1616, before he had done much in the direct work of founding schools. But his interest in such things gave an impulse to the movement that resulted in the establishment of a true Shogunate University or something very like one, in 1630 by Iemitsu, who held the office of shogun at that time. It was built in Edo, in accordance with the policy adopted by Ieyasu, of making all the life of the empire center about his own new capital. Iemitsu gave about four acres of land in that part of the city called Ueno, and two hundred ryo of gold as a beginning. The money two hundred ryo, was nominally worth about two thousand yen, but of course it represented much more than that at the time of which we are speaking.

Hayashi Doshun, to whom Iemitsu entrusted the work, used the funds for the purpose of building a lecture hall and a dormitory. He was trusted so completely with the building and management of that school that it was really a private institution subsidized by the government. Thus began the first real school directly under the patronage of the Tokugawas and thus also began the scholastic rule of the Hayashi family. For just as Doshun was made the head of this school, or rather was the head of it, so, when it became a true government school, his descendants still held the same

position from generation to generation until the fall of the shogunate at the beginning of the present era.

This head, or principal, of the school did more or less lecturing, at least during the early history of the institution, but he soon came to be more than a mere lecturer in the official shogunate school, more even than the executive head of that institution; he became the official head of the educational work of the country, the guardian of the orthodox system of philosophy, as well as an adviser to the Shogun and a sort of foreign minister. It was Hayaashi Daigaku-no-Kami, that is, Hayashi, the Principal of the University, through whom Perry carried on his negotiations when he came to Japan more than two centuries later.

In the year 1632, the school received the gift of a Seido, or Confucian shrine from the Daimyo of Owari (Nagoya) one of the few of the feudal lords, who, like Ikeda Mitsumasa, of whom we shall hear later, were interested in educational matters.

At first it evidently had no very definite organization, but was rather a place where students came to study as they pleased and to hear lectures from the instructors. In 1663, however, the name of Kobun-in was given to Kayashi Gaho, then the head of the school, as a title. On this account, Hayashi gave the name of Kobun Kwan to the school, and at the same time re-organized it, or rather organized it for the first time, as it had had but little attention so far along this line.

In doing this, he divided the work into six branches which were as follows:-

- 1-Morals -----Chinese Classics.
- 2-Reading and understanding ----Much like translation work, but not quite the same as the students were not expected actually to translate if he understood the Chinese original.
- 3-Rhetoric and composition ----Chinese.
- 4-History ----Mainly Chinese.
- 5-Japanese learning and literature.
- 6-Mathematics.

These branches of work all seem to have found devotees who were willing to spend their time and strength in pursuit of their mysteries except the last. Interest in mathematics was at a low ebb among the patrons of Hayashi's school. This was, of course, due to the fact that in general it was considered to be a science necessary for a craftsman or a merchant, but inasmuch as all such matters as the reckoning of money and manual labor were entirely beneath the true samurai, he had no use for such knowledge. So true was this that absolutely no students called for instruction in this branch, and some accounts of the school make no mention of it at all as having even been offered among the other courses.

The methods of instruction and the materials used were practically the same as those which had prevailed before in the schools of the Kyoto period, except that Japanese learning and literature had been introduced, calling probably, for some changes in the methods of teaching, though just what

these changes were we do not know.

The students were divided into ten classes according to their degree of advancement in each branch of the work, for it is evident that some were allowed to follow more than one line of study at a time if they wished. Those who were in classes A, B. and C, the three highest classes were called Tokusei, or special students. These were the men who had gone over a large part of the work in the branch of study in which they were thus classed, that is, a man might be classed as an A, B, or C man, a Tokusei, in one of the six courses and at the same time be in some other class in some other branch in which he had not advanced so far. Classes D, E, and F consisted of those who were called promising students, and the remainder, called ordinary students, made up of classes G. H. I. and J, below these were some called preparatory students classed as K and L, but they were not reckoned in the student body as a usual thing.

It was not, however, such a very large school as we might be led to expect from such an elaborate organization as ten classes and six different courses would indicate; it had only some forty students in all at this time. Nor were these students all very young men. The youngest were boys of fourteen to sixteen in the K and L classes, doing preparatory work, probably of much the same grade as that done in the Terakoya. But on the other hand there were veterans of forty-four and forty-seven in the C class in some branches of the work (No one ever attained to the two highest classes, we are told) and another of thirty-four was found in one of the

middle grades. They were not seated nor graded according to their age, as the students of the older schools were, but according to their advancement, changing seats as they were promoted from one class to another much like the boys and girls in an old-fashioned spelling class.

Rhetoric and composition seem to have been either the easiest of the most popular branches for the number of C men in this work was quite considerable. Japanese learning and literature came next, and Chinese, that is the classics, reading and understanding and history were the three most difficult ones for no one ever got above G in this work.

At this time, although the school was a private one in name, the government, that is, the shogunate, granted allowances to the students and also made gifts or grants to the school for the erection of buildings. The number of dormitories had gradually increased to four, the East, the West, the North, and the South Buildings, as they were called, and the school was in a flourishing condition in spite of its not having a very large number of students in attendance. In order to increase its prestige, the shogun himself sometimes came and worshipped at the Confucian shrine on the grounds of the institution.

In the year 1688 began the Japanese year period called Genroku, a period marked by a great change in the condition and also in the habits of the people, the first for the better and the second for the worse. The seventy five or eighty years of peace which had followed the Osaka wars of 1614 and 1615

broken only by the Shimabara revolt of 1637, a comparatively small affair, had made the country far more materially prosperous than it had been for several centuries previous. The merchants and the peasants were no longer ground down with such taxes as they had been in the days of the civil wars. Of course, this state of affairs showed itself in the manner of living of the leisure classes, the samurai, who became in many cases, mere bragging swashbucklers. There were no wars to form an outlet for their energy, so they turned their attention to other things. Their oppression of the industrial agricultural and commercial classes caused the rise of a group of men called the Otokodate, bound together in a guild whose members stood by each other in all kinds of trouble, and who always kept their word. These men were the champions of the commons against their oppressors, and every man of these lower classes looked up to and respected them.

But this state of affairs was an extremely dangerous one for the rulers of the land, both local and central, for an open break between these classes might lead to grave disaster. So the daimyo began to turn their attention more and more to the task of educating their turbulent followers and in this way giving them an outlet for their energy in a less harmful kind of way. They began to establish schools for their retainers and in many ways tried to divert the energy of this class, which, with its military traditions and no way of exercising them, was becoming a menace to society into safer channels.

This same general state of affairs necessarily had its effect upon the shogun and the school in Edo. In the

first place, the followers of the shogun were no exception to the rule as regards the tendency to degenerate into swashbucklerism. An antidote was needed in their case as much if not more than in the case of the retainers of the various daimyo. Again, the prosperity of the country made the shogun's revenue larger, and hence it was easier for him to undertake directly the task of supporting a large educational institution, more worthy of his high office than the one at that time in his capital. But besides all this, Tsynayoshi, the then Shogun, was a man who was at least intensely interested in learning, whether he was much of a scholar himself or not. He had lectures delivered in his palace in Edo and compelled the daimyo who were in the city and his own personal retainers to come and listen to them. It is said that he listened to lectures of this kind on the Book of Changes (Divination) two hundred and forty times a year for eight years without missing even once! Surely it is no wonder that such a man should wish to enlarge the scope and efficiency of the one school directly under his charge.

So in 1690 Hayashi's school was moved to a place in the present ward of Hongo, Tokyo, then Edo, where a plot of land, five acres in extent had been set apart for its use. But not only was it thus removed to more spacious grounds, but it was also made a true government school, instead of being simply a private school patronized and subsidized by the shogun. It was now to have all the influence and the prestige of the government behind it, at least in so far as the chief official of that government cared to exert it.

The new site was called Sho-hei-Zaka and the school received the name of Sho-hei-Zaka Gakko, or Sho-hei-Zaka School. The work of removing it occupied three years and was carried on with great pomp and ceremony. Daimyo were appointed to oversee the actual labor and everything possible was done to make a great show. Hayashi Nobuatsu, the reigning head of the institution did most of the actual overseeing of the work, but the names of the daimyo added importance to the proceeding. After the school was safely ensconced in its new home, the shogun introduced a still further innovation by ordering the members of the Hayashi family who acted as principal of the school, to cease to shave their heads, as a sign that this school, at least, was no longer in the hands of the clergy in any sense. It will be remembered that the first of this line of school principals Hayashi Dashun, early in life, objected to the compulsory tonsure, but later, for the sake of escaping annoyance which accompanied his efforts to work as a lay teacher, shaved his head and nominally became a priest. From that time till the period of which we are now speaking, every one of his descendants who had succeeded to the headship of the school had taken the tonsure, though none of them had ever done anything else in the way of spiritual duties. They had simply done so in order to conform to a custom imposed on their profession by the claims of the Buddhist priests. But now they were to be free from all this, and learning was no longer to be controlled in any such way by men whose efforts should have been directed more exclusively toward spiritual things.

The opening of the school on its new site was celebrated by special lectures in the palace of the shogun and also by another lecture at the gate of the school, this last, if not all of them, by the head of the school. So many people attended this popular lecture (about three hundred) that many of them had to sit on the ground. This is pointed out by some writers as showing a great development in the interest of education. But as time went on and such lectures became more frequent, the attendance seems to have fallen away some. Sorai, one of the greatest of the unorthodox philosophers and hence an enemy of the whole Hayashi family and the government schools, says of these lectures that the government thinks it is educating the people by means of them, but in reality only a few doctors, merchants and country Samurai attend. But even if all these criticisms were true, these talks must have accomplished something, small though it may have been. Moreover, it must have been encouraging to the lecturer to be able to speak to some who came really willingly and who were really earnest in their desire to learn, for it is all too easy to see that the liatamoto, or personal followers of the shogun, for whose special benefit the school was built and supported, had so far, in general, evinced no very startling zeal in a literary line.

So far we have been looking at the better effects of the prosperity of the Genroku period, and have but touched upon the moral degeneration which it brought. The idleness and oppression of the samurai and the resistance of the commoners were not the only things that troubled the government authori -

ties of the day. Lack of education or of any clear system of morality coupled with the work of that gentleman who is said to be always able to find a job for any idle hands which are in need of one, had wrought havoc among the samurai as well as among the lower classes in spite of the efforts of the shogun and the daimyo. The followers of both the chief official of the Empire and those of the lesser nobles cared little for learning and literature. They saw no great use in spending their hours in the tedious task of learning to read thousands of Chinese ideographs. They only wanted to be able to read the pornographic literature which was so common at that time. Yoshimune, who became shogun in 1717, was the ablest of the successors of the great Ieyasu, and even he found the tide too strong to be stemmed at once. What interest in learning could be expected of men who laughed openly at the official scholar of the court, joked with him and asked him if Confucius was a handsome man? For one to appreciate fully the significance of such a thing as teasing or joking in this way with a disciple of the Chinese sage of the old school, one must have met and talked with such a man and have felt the weight of his dignity. Only then can he appreciate the awful depth to which a person who could speak slightly or jokingly to such a man on such subject must have fallen.

Moreover, although the Sho-hei-Zaka school was intended for the purpose of training men for official life, and the head of it was a close counsellor of the shogun himself, it seems to have been unequal to the task, for the ignorance of some of the officials was almost unbelievable. It is said that at one

time during the eighteenth century, the official architect, in a fit of economy, proposed to do away with the Seido, or Confucian shrine in the Sho-hei-Zaka School. The request for permission to tear it down was granted by the prime minister in spite of the protests of the head of the school, and was forwarded to the Shogun for his consent to the proposition as well. The chamberlain who carried the request to his lord did not know what the Seido was, and not caring to face his master with a request of which he was no ignorant, he asked one of the other officials what the building in question was. This man said it was a temple dedicated to a god named Confucius, but whether this Confucius was a Shinto or a Buddhist deity he could not tell! This not being fully satisfactory, he made further inquiries and was told that Confucius was the name of a god spoken of in a book called the Analects! This book was at least known by name to the chamberlain, and the answer, therefore, satisfied him. He is said to have reasoned that this probably true and that Hayashi's opposition to the destruction of the shrine was due to the fact that he feared that the deed might be reported in China and thus lower Japan in the eyes of the Chinese, Confucius being a god mentioned in a Chinese book!

For how long such ignorance of the classics prevailed and such contempt for learning was the rule, it is hard to tell. But many of these men of the military class were really men of merit and there was always a small circle of them who were intent in their study of the classics and of the Chinese systems of philosophy. It was from this class that all of the

of the great scholars of the age came, So in spite of much criticism which may be justly levelled at them, they were the ones who were real leaders of Japanese thought. They were the barriers which kept the land from going down into either luxurious savagery or blind, unthinking ignorance.

One of the reasons, however, for this state of ignorance was the fact that many of the savants of the day occupied themselves, as did the school men of Europe, with disputes over various small differences in their systems of philosophy. No debate ever carried on in the West was ever more fierce than some of the wordy battles of these eastern sages. But in the case of the men whose work we are now discussing, either fortunately or unfortunately, there was a power capable of controlling them. When the disputes became too loud, and the men engaged in them spent their whole energy in battling with each other, to the neglect of their more important duties, the shogun took a hand in the matter. And when he spoke it was with no uncertain voice and in favor of the Shushi system. (See Chapter XXI.) This was the system which had been favored by the government from the beginning, for it was the creed of the Status Quo. If any of the other systems had gained the upper hands, or had become too wide-spread, it is quite likely that there might have been trouble, and hence it was not without reason that this system was made the orthodox one. Every one of the descendants of the Ieyasu as well as the great statesman himself, knew that his position was illegal and that if the country were disturbed by any sort of political or intellectual upheaval, he was in real danger of his head as well as his power.

So near the end of the eighteenth century orders were issued to the head of the Sho-hei-Zaka School to rouse the institution to greater activity and to make it a more effective weapon for the defence of orthodoxy. At the same time a sort of Minister of Education was appointed, the Daimyo of Shirakawa, named Matsudaira Sadonoby, being the man chosen for this place. As he was a loyal Tokugawa man and a firm believer in the Shushi system of philosophy, as well as a very able personage, he was an almost ideal man for the work, and the effect of his labors soon began to make itself felt.

In the first place he chose Shibana Retsuzan, to assist Hayashi Fissai, the then reigning head of the school. Jissai was, fortunately, one of the ablest of his line, and sympathized fully with Sadonobu's desire to enlarge the school. By 1792 many new buildings were completed and two more men, both celebrated scholars, had been added to the faculty. These men were Bito Nisshin and Kogo Seiri. They were, of course, strongly orthodox, and thus made the central school of the empire a perfectly orthodox place with five or more of the best scholars in the country in it as instructors. Word was also sent to all the provincial schools in the land to suppress all teaching that did not square with the Shushi system. This caused some disturbance, but the order was complied with in form in practically all cases, and by 1795 all was as peacefully orthodox all over the country as any Shushi-ite could have wished, so far as appearances went, at any rate.

This work of unifying the teaching all over the country did not take all of Sadanobu's time by any means, and

the rest of it he devoted to the school most immediately under his care, the Sho-hei-Zaka School, and re-organized it in its enlarged form. The professor who taught there were allowed to lecture in turn to the students, who were divided into four classes or departments. The students of the first department studied morals; those of the second, history; of the third, practical affairs; and of the last composition. This division into departments was made in order to classify the men who wished to take the state examinations which were then instituted ostensibly for civil service purposes. How many students there were in the school at this time we are not told, but even though it is stated that when the first of these examinations was held in 1792 there were two hundred and eighty candidates, it may be doubted whether they were all students of the school.

As now constituted, the work of the school began with the Four Classics and the Shogaku, no matter to what department the student belonged. After mastering these two volumes, a man might take up any book he pleased if it was not in conflict with the orthodoxy, was not of low moral tone, and was not opposed to Confucianism. Once a year examinations were held, and if a student failed three times in these annual tests he was expelled. These examinations were largely written, but they were held in the presence of an official examiner. The student stated which one of the four general subjects he was versed in, that is, to what department he belonged, and was then allowed to draw a question out of a box and retire to his seat. After he had written the name of his department at the top of the paper, he proceeded to answer the question as best

he could. Little chance for cheating was given for the rules against it were very strict. Sometimes oral expounding of passages was required, but usually the written work was all.

The methods of teaching which led up to these examinations were the same as those we have seen in older schools with the exception that the men here were more strictly guarded against wandering from the straight and narrow Fhushi way. When they discussed the contents of their books or other topics they were warned not to be taken in by unfounded or fanciful theories, that is, with anything not orthodox. They were also forbidden to discuss political problems in any way.

(Note----A restriction similar to this last one, that against political discussion was issued to the colleges of the empire in the year 1911, in consequence of some student disturbance which rose out of too much discussion of the affair of Kotoku and his anarchistic followers).

The class of students who were admitted to this school was limited, though there were a few more loop-holes for a man of the common people to enter than there had been before. The sons of priests, diviners, merchants, artisans, or men who had been expelled from their families for any reason, were excluded as were also any who were sons of men going under false names. However, men of the artisan or merchant class were allowed to enter if they were especially anxious to do so, but in such a case they were compelled to give up their business or their trade, whatever it might be.

All the students were compelled to live in the dormi-

tories of the school and to see that they did not break any of the rules there was a force of four inspectors. Two of these had to do with the school buildings proper and made their rounds once a day. The other two had charge of the dormitories and had to make their rounds twice a day. Just how strictly these men looked after the students in general it is hard to say, but they were expected to ferret out and suppress any tendency to heresy on the part of anyone in the school.

In the same year that these regulations were issued, or rather put into practice, 1792, another feature was added to the school which must have done much to popularize education. This was a series of examinations open to the public. For excellent work in these, special prizes were given, and for those who passed but did not get prizes, the honor seems to have been reward enough. They were open to boys of from seven or even less to fifteen years of age, and nothing is said as to the rank or occupations of their fathers. Those under seven were examined on anything they happened to be proficient in as they were too young to have done very much studying of any special kind. Those from eight to ten years old were examined on the four classics and the Shogaku, and those from eleven to fifteen on the four classics and the five classics.

During the examination all the teachers of the school as well as the principal were present, and the following methods of procedure was used in the case of all those over seven, that is, all who took a real examination.

A book stand was placed in the center of the room between the two examiners, and the candidate came forward and sat

down in Japanese style on the floor in front of it, One of the school inspectors then brought a book and laid it on the stand, at the same time indicating the passage to be read. After each candidate had had his turn at this, the examination was over, but we are not told how many mistakes a man was allowed to make before he was counted to have failed.

That this was a very popular thing may be inferred from the fact that from this time on such examinations were held very often, and also from the fact that in 1795 the age limit was raised to seventeen instead of fifteen in the interests of truth, because so many boys lied about their ages in order to be able to take the examination.

But even all these reforms did not satisfy the government for it soon became evident that the main object of the Sho-hei-Zaka School was not being accomplished. The Hatamoto were being educated and uplifted morally as they should have been. Too much of the energy of the school was being spent in educating those not directly connected with either the government or the Shogun personally. If such a state of affairs continued for too long a time it would constitute a menace to the peace of the land and the power of the shogun, as the insolence and immorality of the Hatamoto would provoke an uprising of some kind, and their ignorance and dissipation would unfit them for the struggle that must ensue if the line of Ieyasu was to hold its place of authority. Accordingly, in 1797 all but some of the Hatamoto and a few others, sons of the disciples of some member of the Hayashi family, were sent away. The reason given for this move was that in admitt-

ing the sons of the samurai in general, as well as a few others, the way had been opened for bad as well as good students. As a result the tone of the school was not as high as it ought to be. Just whether these "outsiders" were of any lower moral tone than the Hatamoto men may be very seriously open to question, but of course the shogun may have thought that he had enough to do to keep his own followers straight and to educate them without burdening himself with any further troubles borrowed from other people. At any rate he seems to have been determined to devote the whole energy of the school, except for the little occupied with the Hayashi disciples, to the work of educating his own followers and to leave the other samurai to go to the schools provided by their masters or to go without teaching.

Four years after the promulgation of this order in regard to the admission of students, the grounds of the school were enlarged and new buildings were erected. By this time the area of the grounds had reached nine and a half acres, and there were dormitories, lecture halls, a Confucian shrine, teachers' residence, places for horses of the students, grounds for the practice archery, fencing plots, etc., in fact all the equipment necessary for carrying out the injunctions of Ieyasu as to the development of ability in the line of literature and the military arts.

This shogun may have been influenced by the general rise in interest in education about this time, but no doubt a part of his zeal was due to the fact that every effort which he put forth now would tell directly on his own personal retainers, the

Hatamoto, whose habits and manners were fast becoming a menace to the peace of the country. But whatever his motive, he fixed the income of the school for running expenses at one thousand koku of rice (one koku equals five and thirteen hundredths of bushels) a fairly good income for the time and the needs of the place. A member of the Hayashi family was still at the head of it, and had two classes of professors under him. One of these classes of men included those whose sole business was to teach there, that is, they were regular professors under him. One of these classes of men included those whose sole business was to teach there, that is, they were regular professors. The other class was composed of men who came to help more or less in the work of teaching, but who had some other real profession besides this. They were sometimes Hatamoto and sometimes men attached to daimyo, but in all cases the work of teaching was not only a side issue.

Naturally the work of overseeing all the student debates and all other student activities, as well as a large share of the lecturing fell to the lot of the regular teachers or professors. These men held rank equal to that of the Hatamoto whose sons they taught, and received an income of eighty koku of rice a year. This salary or allowance was in virtue of their rank as equal to the Hatamoto, and they received fifteen mens portions of rice besides this when they worked, that is, this was their salary as professors in the school.

The students paid no fees and those of them who were sons of Hatamoto were supported by the government as well, as were also the attendants of these students, who studied them.—

The non-Hatamoto men were of two classes, those who came in from their lodgings in the city and those who lived in the dormitories, that is, day students and boarders. The Hatamoto men occupied two of the dormitories, their attendants, one, and the non-Hatamoto men the remaining two. These last were self-supporting, and were often treated with scant courtesy as the school was understood to be for Hatamoto men primarily, and all others were considered more or less as interlopers.

In the matter of instruction, the day students received their only from the occasional teachers, not from the regular professors at all. The resident non-Hatamoto men, however, were allowed to attend classes on nearly if not quite the same basis as the regular Hatamoto students.*

Unlike most schools of this and earlier days, there were entrance examinations which the students were compelled to pass before being allowed to enter this one. The Hatamoto men were required to take a test on the four classics and the five classics, while their attendants had to pass on the four classics only. What was required of the non-Hatamoto men is not stated, but it is not likely that it differed much from one or the other of these.

The number of students accommodated in the dormitories would seem to indicate that the government aimed at intensive rather than extensive work, the careful education of a few men rather than less effective education of a larger number, for there were but forty-eight of the Hatamoto men and their attendants and forty-four non-Hatamoto men in the dormitories. The

*See Appendix XI.

number of day men is not stated, but it cannot have been very large. There were four or five or more dormitory superintendants and tutors to keep things in order in the school. The first attended to matters of discipline and the latter had to teach the meaning of the books studied, something like coaches or private tutors in the West. The lessons taught were mainly on morals and the students were also given drill in the expounding of passages from the classics, in poetry and composition writing, and listened to lectures on various subjects.

Examinations of the ordinary kind were held on the third and the eighth of every month. There were also other examinations in reading and expounding open only to Hatamoto men. This was also true of the semi-annual examinations which were held in the spring and fall and were not open to non-Hatamoto men. These tests consisted of exposition, both oral and written, translation of Chinese into Japanese, questions on the contents of the books studied, and composition. The men who were lucky enough to pass these tests with flying colors were given prizes by the government, ususally in the shape of books, and always of the most strictly orthodox kind.

These were the examinations for the students of the school. Over and above these, or at any rate separate from them were some examinations open to the public. The first of these was in reading only, from the four classics the five classics and the Shogaku. Any boy from seventeen to nineteen years old connected with the government service in any way was eligible to try this test. The other was a harder one and was open to the same class of men with no age limit. It

was held only once in three years and occupied five days in all. The first day was devoted to written work on the Shogaku, the second the same on the four classics, and the third on the five classics. The fourth day was for translation and questions on the historical books and the last one was taken up with composition. As one might guess from the fact that these examinations were limited to men in the service of the government, and that they were of two grades, as well as from the materials, this was an attempt to introduce the Chinese system of civil service examinations into Japan once more. It had been tried once and had failed, but perhaps the shogun and his advisers did not fully realize that or they may have thought that they could make it succeed. They did not do so, however, and very few real promotions were made on the basis of these examinations. Soon all was going on in the same old way and promotions were made on account of favoritism or because of efficiency rather than account of academic attainments.

This rearrangement of the affairs of the Sho-hei-Zaka School seems to have been the last one and from the time it was put upon this basis as a strictly Hatamoto institution to the restoration in 1867, when the shogunate, fell, there were no serious changes in it. It simply gradually fell to pieces and at last went down with the shogunate to make room for more modern ways of doing things,

CHAPTER XV.

Other Shogunate Schools.

A little before the middle of the seventeenth century, not so very many years after the supposed complete suppression of Christianity, and all other western ideas, the government conceived the plan of putting up what might be called intellectual and religious fortifications at Nagasaki in order to prevent any possibility of the enemy returning. This port was selected for the site because it was the only place in Japan where any foreign ships of any kind were allowed to come, and hence the only place where there was any danger of invasion. That the fears of the government were well founded is shown by the fact that more or less medical knowledge did creep in through the Dutch who were allowed to live on the island of Deshima in the harbor, and also by the fact that something which resembled Christianity teaching was found in some Chinese books which came to that port in 1687. The attitude of the government toward this whole question is clearly indicated by the care with which it watched all who had anything to do with the Dutch, and by the fact that the books suspected of containing some Christian teaching were all carefully destroyed and the finder was rewarded by being appointed inspector of foreign books for the port. In this capacity he was expected to see that no books

containing any teachings at variance with the views of the government got into the country by any chance whatsoever, thus ensuring the safety of the Shogun's government, whatever effect it might have on the people at large.

The intellectual and religious barriers erected at this time consisted of a school and several Buddhist temples. The latter were of the ordinary type and were intended to take care of the religious interests of the people and keep them from wandering into forbidden pastures. Or perhaps the government had a faint idea of the real truth, namely that Christianity had not really been completely destroyed, and constant watching was necessary to prevent another outbreak of the hated doctrine. The school was not much different from some other schools in the land, and was called the Mei-rin-do. It was established in the year 1647 and from the start was complete from the orthodox classic standpoint as it had a lecture hall and a Confucian shrine. In 1650 it was enlarged and a half an acre of land added to its grounds. The building erected at this time is still standing, and is still used as a school. It is not a government institution now, as it was then but a private school in which Japanese, Chinese and English are taught.

As might be expected in a government school which was expected to protect the country from all kinds of heretical teachings, only the Shushi system of philosophy was allowed. All such dangerous ideas as those of Oyomei or of any Japanese philosopher who dared to wander from the straight and narrow

orthodox path were rigidly excluded. The methods of instruction were similar to but not exactly like those of the old classical schools of earlier days. When learning to read the student was not allowed to hear any explanation of the text whatever. He was given the Book of Filial Piety, the four classics, the five classics, and the Shogaku to read, and until he had learned to read them all he was not allowed to do anything else. For five months he pegged away at this warisome task during the whole of his school hours. At the end of this period he was supposed to have mastered this part of the work and to be ready to learn something about the meaning of what he had been reading. So from this time on sometimes the teacher read and explained the text and as the students advanced, they were now and then called on to read and expound. The students were also allowed to ask questions about the text if they so desired. Six times a month there were public debates or discussions on passages from some of the classics to sharpen their wits, and to train them further in the art of expounding.

The hours of work seem to have been from noon till dark. There was also a night school, but whether for the same set of students or a different one we are not told. Work was suspended on all great holidays, but other-wise seems to have continued throughout the year.

The curriculum included only Chinese and Japanese literature and medicine. There was no special work in writing and none at all in arithmetic, and there were no military exercises. That is, only those subjects were taught which were needed as an antidote for any heretical or dangerous doctrines that might

in some way leak into the country. Of course in the case of writing, even though there was no special teaching of the art as such, there must have been some way by which the students acquired it for they had to take written examinations later on in their course. So with a knowledge of writing to work with, with Japanese medicine to fight foreign practice with, and thoroughly imbued with the conservative spirit of Shushi and Confucius, the men of this school must have been pretty nearly proof against any new ideas of any kind that they might come across, and also have been able to ward it off from the country as well.

The limit of the time which a man might stay in the school was not fixed. He might stay as long as he wished if he behaved himself. In order to mark their degree of advancement examinations in reading were held once a year, and all who passed this annual test were admitted to a higher triennial one.

The annual test was held some time in February or March by a special examiner sent by the governor of the city, and who was always accompanied by two secretaries. When these three men took their places at the upper end of the examining room, such of the city officials as were present were seated at their right and the inspector of foreign books, together with the principal of the school sat at their left. The candidate to be examined stepped forward and was given a book by one of the secretaries who at the same time indicated the passage, from one to three pages, to be read. He then knelt or sat in Japanese style and read the passage. If he misread, or failed to read one character, he lost one mark, and three such blunders

caused him to be counted as having failed. If he was successful, however, he was given a sum of money as a prize.

The triennial examinations were open only to the best of the limited number who passed the annual tests. The examiners were the same as in the case of the yearly ones, but the method was entirely different, all the work being done in writing. Questions were given on the Analects, the Shogate the Mōshi, or from some of the histories (Chinese), and the written answers were required sometimes in Chinese and sometimes in Japanese. The giving out of the questions, however, ended the real work of the examiners for the judging of the answers was all done by special officials of the shogunate in Edo.

Nothing at all is said as to the method of examination in medicine, though we might infer from this silence that either there were no such tests or they were like the others. The method of teaching from Chinese textbooks would lend itself to such a method very easily.

The school also had some special relations with the Chinese population of Nagasaki, and it was rather encouraged in this by the government, probably because the officials thought that conservative Chinese thought would do little harm and might help to draw the attention of restless intellects away from more dangerous topics which might come in with the Dutch.

These, then, were the fortifications that were to keep out the hated and feared western learning, Just how effectual they were can be judged better when we take up the question of how foreign learning came into the country, in a later chapter.

The government of the Shogun also did a little to encourage medical learning, though not very much. As we have seen, this sort of knowledge was passed on from master to apprentice in the main, the older organization for the purpose of giving instruction having gone to pieces long before. In 1765, however, a school of this kind was established in Edo, in the ward of Kansa, by a man named Take Genkoi. He rented a lot on which had stood a government observatory and called the institution which he founded there the "Sai-ji-kan" or Hall for the Saving of the Age". It seems to have lacked stability in spite of its brave nomenclature, and soon collapsed.

In 1791, the government took it up and gave it a new lease of life and a new name, the "L-gak-gak" or "Hall of medical learning". An allowance of one hundred ryo of gold was fixed for its support, also. Besides, this, all doctors who wished to become official medical appointees of the government had to be examined here. One of the descendants of the founder, Take, was always at the head of this school, just as there was always a Hayashi at the head of the Sho-hei-Zaka School, and the system of medicine taught was the old Chinese one described in a former chapter.

Besides this school the government started another one called the "I-gaku-sho" or "Place of Medical Learning". where western, that is, Dutch medical practice was taught. These two existed side by side for some time and were the only medical schools of any kind in the whole country.

In 1858, only a few years before the restoration, some

eighty doctors formed a sort of medical society and established a vaccination hall in Edo, in the ward of Kanda. They were very soon recognized by the government and helped as well, and in later years, after the restoration, this institution was united with the I-gaku-sho and the two together formed the beginnings of the medical college of the Imperial University. The I-gak-kan probably died a natural death as western medicine superseded the older Chinese system.

When we begin to investigate the question of schools for the common people, we find that in general the government of the Tokugawa Age did not look upon popular education with very much favor. It was mainly interested in keeping up the Status Quo, and any movement which tended to disturb matters even a very little always met with a prompt check. When Ideda Mitsumasa, of Bizen, established his one hundred and twenty schools and opened them to the common people, as soon as the work was well under way, the government sent him notice that he was getting a little too active in such matters and that he had better abdicate in favor of his son. He was wise enough to do so as he was requested without parley and his son took the hint and the schools soon fell into abeyance and the government had its way.

Some of the Shoguns used the Terakoya and the Tenarai-sho as a means of making their proclamations and laws known to the common people and in order to do this more effectively, tried to control them a little. But there was scant measure of what we would like to call encouragement in any of these moves.

All this being true, it is not strange that we find few instances of the shogunate actually founding any schools for the lower classes. The whole official world seemed to be of the opinion that the commons were not to be educated any more than they cared to educate themselves, and that the only duty of the central authorities was to see that no sedition arose in the schools and that they did not become too prosperous or too numerous in one place.

But the picture is not at all so dark as this might seem to show it to be. The shogunage did do something for the education of its more humble subjects, though not very much. The first move of this kind was in the year 1716 when Yoshimune, the then shogun, gave land in the Fukagawa ward in Edo for the purpose of erecting a school, and erected a building upon it. A Ronin, or masterless samurai was made the head of it. Some time later a similar school was established in Osaka, and Nakai Chikusan was made the principal. The work done in these two places was much like that of the Terakoya, that is, mainly reading and writing, and a little explanation of the texts read, with a little arithmetic added in cases where it was asked for.

This is not a very great thing for a government to do in the way of educating its subjects, but when it did not believe in doing such things it is hardly fair to expect much more from it. This is, however, all that was done for a long time and these two schools continued to represent the sum total of shogunate effort in pupilar education for a hundred years or more. It was not until well on into the nineteenth century that any further effort was made and then it was too late.

In 1843 another school was established in Edo, in the Kojimachi ward and was called the Kojimachi Kyo-ju-sho to distinguish it from the other one in Jukagawa which was called the Kyo-ju-sho only. Besides these two there were other schools for the common people established by private individuals but at the instigation or direct request of the government, though all of them were of very late date. Some of them at Tokyo at the present time are descendants of such centers of educational effort.

Very shortly after the founding of the Kojimachi Kyo-ju-sho there was a Gakumon-dokoro-Budyo, or Superintendent of School appointed and one of the duties assigned to him was the establishment of common schools for the people. But it was too late. The shogunate was already tottering, and even the few years of life left to it were very troubled ones. So when it went down in the war that restored the emperor to power, it passed out of existence without having done anything worthy of the name in the way of education for the common people of the empire.

CHAPTER XVI.

Provincial or Daimyo's Schools.

In the chapter on the Shogunate University it was said that Ieyasu gathered the Daimyo of the country together at Fushimi, near Kyoto, and caused a series of regulations to be expounded to them. Even though the first of these rules had to do with the question of education their followers, we can hardly expect that, by such a simple process as this, a large number of battle-scarred veterans and warlike chiefs should have been converted to such an extent that they would immediately go home and establish model schools. But nevertheless, when it began to be apparent that peace had really come to stay, some of them began to take steps to follow the good advice which they had heard on that occasion in the matter of educating their followers. There were not many of this kind for some time, but by the year 1650 there were not many of this kind for some time, but by the year 1650 there were a dozen or more of such institutions established by the local nobility for their own immediate followers. As many more, or perhaps a slightly greater number were added during the latter half of the century, and with the wave of prosperity which came at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century such schools sprang up all over the country. The Shogun's school

took the lead, as we have seen, but the wave of enthusiasm naturally reached the country districts a little later, bringing in the new crop of schools during the next century. From this time on until the end of the Tokugawa age more and more of these schools sprang up until there was one in nearly every province in the empire.

They varied in kind and in objects aimed at within certain limits. Some laid the greatest stress on letters and put in military training simply because they were required to do so, either by law or custom. In such cases they quite closely resembled the earlier Chinese schools of the Hei-an-Cho. Again others laid the most stress on the work of training in military things, and made "Book-learning" a subordinate matter. But in all cases they were supposed to be modelled after the Sho-hei-Zaka School in Edo, but they usually paid more attention to the matter of warlike training than was the case with the shogun's school. This all means that in the main they were intended to train the samurai to be true Bushi, or Japanese knights, Just what being a true Bushi meant is sometimes a little hard to determine, and the products of the schools showed very clearly the varying interpretations of the word. At its best it meant all, perhaps, that Dr. Nitobe has put into it in his little book, "Bushido, or the Way of the Samurai." At its worst, it meant rank pedanticism of the stiffest kind and Swashbucklerism of the most shameless sort. But in any case, so far as the schools determined the connotation of the word, it was intended to include the ideas of a fighter and a learned man combined in one person. So, in this more military

ideal, at least, the schools of this period differed from those of earlier days. The object of the first schools was to produce learned men, or statesmen, the two being considered synonymous terms. The object of these newer institutions was to do nearly the same thing so far, for they used the same books which extolled the kings and sages of ancient times, somewhat to the detriment of the progress of their descendants. The samurai of the Tokugawa Age, however, probably did not go as deeply into these things, in some ways as did Kibi-no-Mabi or Sugawara-no-Michizane, but they kept a better balance in their work and rounded out their development more. The student of the older school was forbidden all kinds of exercise except the very gentle one of archery, and practised that only in order to learn more about self-control and etiquette. The later samurai, however, added horsemanship, fencing, wrestling, and other sports. Archery of the old stiff kind was too tame a sport for him, and shooting a target at a live dog from the saddle was used as a more lively substitute. It is true that the more deeply learned scholars of the time kept the old ideal of a stiff formal, dignified, somewhat pedantic scholar as the one to be striven after, but in the average, samurai there was too much red blood for him to allow his body to be treated in any such way, and thus he demonstrated his belief that the sword was a weapon which had a place in the world of affairs still, in spite of the so-called more powerful pen so lauded in the teachings of the sages whom he supposed deeply revered.

Perhaps a better idea of the work that these schools were trying to do can be formed if we insert somewhat detailed outlines of the work of a few typical ones.

One of the earliest of all the Tokugawa provincial schools to be established was the Chigyo-Kirai Gakusha, founded in 1595, twenty years before Ieyasu's regulations were issued, in the province of Bitchu, a little west of Okayama. This was first a school for samurai alone but in 1792 a new building was put up and under the new impulse toward better and more universal education the children of the common people were allowed to use a part of it. The new impulse did not last long, however, for it went down even before the restoration about the year 1818 or a little later. Once more, in 1864, the institution was revived and this time hung on till after the restoration.

The students of this school were allowed to enter at eight years of age, and began immediately with the work of reading. After they had mastered enough of that difficult art to enable them to use books to some advantage, they took up the study of the meaning of the books on morals and history, as well as poetry, arithmetic, manners, and etiquette, writing and medicine. Besides this though there were no rules to that effect they were expected to learn horsemanship, fencing, the use of the spear, gunnery, and wrestling.

The main work, as we might expect, was done in reading which occupied the hours from nine to twelve nearly every day except holidays. On the first, sixth, fourth, and ninth of every month there were various lectures from ten to twelve.

Then on the second and the seventh from two to six in the afternoon, they heard lectures on or practised manners and etiquette. The students themselves took turns at lecturing at the meetings held from six to ten in the evening on the second, seventh, fourth, and ninth of the month. Once in a month, on the fifth a poetry meeting, at which they wrote poems on various subjects was held in the afternoon. The hours for the physical training of various kinds were not fixed on the program, but were arranged individually with the instructor, and came from six to twelve times a month.

Examinations in the academic part of the work were held once a year and a higher examination once in three years. At such times prizes were distributed to the successful candidates as well to those who had been faithful in attendance. These rewards usually took the shape of writing brushes or ink stones in the case of the lesser ones and of clothes or books for the greater ones.

Holidays seem to have been fairly frequent. New Year's and the Festival of the Dead in the summer each took several days, there were some summer holidays, and the five Go-sekku, or Buddhist holidays were all kept as days of rest, besides the first and the fifteenth of every month. There were other rests as well on occasions of great celebrations or of great mourning.

Looking at this class of schools, they seem to be much like the older institutions for the matter of military arts and exercise was left very much to custom and inclination. It would almost seem as if they were put in partly under protest.

But not all schools were of this kind. There were others which, on account of being further from court life and civilization or for other reasons, were much more athletic and military in their aims. A good example of this sort of school was the "Gakumon-jo" or "Hall of Learning", established in Sendai by Date Masamune, one of the greatest of the great daimyo of the days of Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Here the pressure was largely in the direction of military arts and science rather than toward the more humanitarian studies of morals, history, and the like, although they stood seemingly, on an equal footing on the program.

One of the early principals of this school was Tani Denzaemon, a true Jusha, or official scholar, but a fine fencer as well. Whether the choice of such a man was the result or the cause of the emphasis on military arts it is hard to say, but after looking at the career of Date Massamune, the founder of the school, one is inclined to think that the choice of the man was due to the policy of the school rather than vice versa.

In the program of this school, under special work to be performed on certain days, we find a poetry only on the eighteenth of the first, fifth and ninth months, a composition meeting on the same day of the third and seventh months, and a writing contest on the eighteenth of the sixth month. That is, writing composition poetry and all, there were but six special meetings every month and various other devices for work in composition and writing.

When we look at the physical side of the students' work we find that he spent a part at least, of the second, sixth, and

ninth days of each month in fencing, of the first, fourth, and fifth in practising still another style of this art and of the third, seventh and tenth in spear practice. This made nine days a month spent in fencing and spear practice, which included two separate styles of sword-play and one of spear-handling, a marked contrast to the voluntary work done in the other school.

With such a program, and no examinations in some of the literary branches it is no wonder that some have said of this school that it was too much devoted to military work and did not have enough strong moral influence. But such as it was, it represents one extreme of the two tendencies found in all these schools, the one pushing toward pedantic scholasticism and the other toward military prowess and martial skill.

When at its height this school seems to have had as many as eight hundred or nine hundred students, and a faculty, from the principal to the student helpers numbering one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty persons, and an additional staff of from seventy to eighty officials and secretaries of various kinds. The students were most of them day men, only twenty-five or thirty living in the dormitories of the school. Besides this, some, perhaps many, of those enrolled as students in the school were men who were working in some official capacity and who came to the school either to fit themselves for promotion, or out of pure love for study or for exercise.

This particular institution was one of the most stable of the provincial schools, being in a flourishing condition

nearly all the time from its founding early in the seventeenth century down to the time of the restoration. This was probably due in part, at least, to the fact that the daimyo took a personal interest in the work. He made it his business to go in person or to send an official to represent him at each of the tests given to the students on the thirteenth of every month and showed his interest in it in other ways as well.

Other schools all over the country did work varying all the way between these two extremes, and did much good in turning the energy of a large leisure class into channels where it was more useful than it might otherwise have been. Their real effect upon the life of the samurai of the Tokugawa Age was very strong. At the time of Ieyasu it was only now and then a man of this class who could read and write, and learning was looked down upon as the work of priests or others who were too weak or cowardly to take part in the affairs of real life. But at the end of the rule of the shoguns, it was men who had been educated in schools of this kind who were able to step forward and to guide the ship of state through the stormy days of the opening of the country to foreign intercourse and of the restoration. This is the brighter side of the work they did. The darker side is the feeling of intolerance and exclusiveness which such work bred in the minds of some of the students. The Chinese classics are noted for their positivism, a characteristic which we shall note in the seventeenth century (See Chap. XVIII) and the exclusive policy of the shogunate fostered all these feelings and made them even stronger.

On the whole, these schools did good work. They accustomed the wilder spirits to discipline; they gave the rougher men an appreciation of what mental effort and attainment meant; they kept alive the virtues of the Chinese sages in the minds of the military class; and they furnished exercise and wholesome physical training for any one who may have been inclined too much study to the exclusion of all care for their health. They together with the Terakoya and the Tenaraisho, prepared the nation for the great leaps forward which it has made since being opened to intercourse with western nations.

At the end of their period of usefulness, some of these schools were handed over to the new government and were turned into secondary schools or colleges under official auspices. Others were, like the one in Nagasaki, simply dropped and the buildings rented for school or other purposes. Still others, like the Sho-do-Kan of Hiroshima, were transformed by their patrons to meet the requirements of the new regime and continued as independent or private schools. By far the largest number, however, simply ceased to exist as the new state of affairs came into being, and they no longer served any useful purpose, their places being taken by the new schools which were better suited to meet the needs of the day,

CHAPTER XVII.

The Terakoya and Tenaraisho of the Tokugawa Era.

We have seen in the chapter on education during the years from 1186 to 1600, how these schools began. By the time peace came under the rule of the great Shogun Ieyasu, they were really an established institution and it is not strange that when the attention of the people who had been so absorbed in civil war for so many years began to be directed to more peaceful pursuits, the work of the Terakoya came to be more and more popular. The Buddhist priests who had begun the work, however, had their spiritual duties to attend to as well as their teaching work, and could not always meet the increased demands upon their time. So Shinto priests took up the work and later as peace settled down over the country, Ronin (masterless samurai) and now and then even doctors took up the task. In the case of those not Buddhist priests it is not strange to find that they did not gather their pupils in the temples, but in their houses. However, even in such cases the schools were usually called Terakoya, though some preferred the name of Tenaraisho, or writing school (liter-

ly hand practice place).

The government did not seem to care to interfere with them very much and they went on about as they pleased, being only now and then given a gentle reminder that the shogun had not forgotten them, when he sent out a new sort of text-book, or set of moral precepts to be learned. For example, during the time of the Shogun Ienobu (1709-1712) Arai Hakuseki, the principal court or official scholar of the day, thought that the teachers of these schools had influence enough so that it would be worth while to utilize it. They were, therefore, ordered to teach a set of government regulations as a part of their work and to use the Teikin Orai and the Jitsugo Kyo for text books for the boys, and Onna Imagawa and the Jokai for the girls. The Teikin Orai was one of those collections of letters containing all kinds of epistolatory forms in which was hidden more or less miscellaneous information, mentioned before as having been compiled by the priests in order to cram a little extra learning into their pupils who wanted to learn nothing but reading and writing. The Jitsugo kyo was a collection of proverbs and maxims and the two books for the girls were both of them made up of moral lessons and precepts for the guidance of the weaker sex.

The smallness of these requirements must have left much room for freedom on the part of the teacher in the choice of other books and lessons, so the burden of obedience was not very heavy. Now was it increased much when this same Hakuseki, a few years later issued a sort of "Nine Commandments

* See Appendix XII.

in a fairly brief form to be used as a series of copies to be used in teaching of writing, and incidentally to improve the morals of the lower classes.

The Shogun Yoshimune (1716-1736) got hold of a Chinese book called the Rokugo Engi, or Six teachings, and was so struck by its value that he had it translated into Japanese, made up into a copy book and sent out to the Terakoya and Teraraisho throughout the country. Some of the regulations issued by the official scholars and other educational officials of the Shogunate never got much beyond Edo, but this one seems to have gone out into the most remote provinces, possibly because the Shogun himself was behind it and was personally interested in seeing a book of which he had himself discovered the value, put to some real use.

Efforts were made to improve the work of the Terakoya and Tenaraisho in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century, possibly under the influence of some of the foreign learning which was then filtering into the country. But all through their history the attitude of the local Daimyo had so much to do with their prosperity or the lack of it, as well as with the manner in which they were run that we can scarcely make any general statement of how they progressed. We can only say that they were the mainstay of education for the common people all through the two hundred and fifty years of Tokugawa rule. Even in a province in which the daimyo was enlightened enough to permit the children of the common people to attend the provincial school along with those of his samurai retainers, there was little

inclination on the part of the children to take advantage of the privilege because of the overbearing attitude of their military companions. In the year 1869 common schools of a more modern pattern began to be established, and at last, in the year 1872 the whole system of Tōrakoya, Tenarai-sho, and every other kind of pre-Meiji school passed out of existence as the new system of modern education stepped in.

In order to show what was now and then done by some really enterprising Daimyo for the education of his people, it may be well to speak of the work of one of the earliest of these local lords who attempted to make education anything like universal.

One of the generals who assisted Ieyasu to establish himself as the real ruler of all Japan was named Ikeda Tadatsugu. When the wars were over and Ieyasu parcelled out the provinces to his friends, this Ikeda was given the fief of Bizen, now the prefecture of Okayama, a little west of Kobe. One of his successors, Ikeda Mitsumasa, being a far sighted and liberal minded man, set to work to improve his domain by educating his people. He established a large school called the Shizutani or Shizu-no-ya School, and then built one hundred and twenty smaller schools in various places throughout his province. The first really government recognized schools for the common people. In doing this, he sent out one of his high officials with a proclamation of which the following is a rough translation. It is inserted here in order to show something of the conditions and causes which led Mitsumasa to take up this work.

"We have heard that the former children of the common people used to go to the temples and were there taught reading, writing, accounting, and other things, and that even older people went as well. But we understand that lately the priests who teach the people have become fewer in number and that now only a very few Shinto priests are carrying on this work. For this reason we can easily see that the common people are now much troubled in the work of educating their children, and that the most of them are unable to secure any advantages of this kind at all for their sons and daughters. Now if the people of a province are all ignorant, they cannot know the common rules of etiquette and morality. The daimyo, having heard of this serious state of affairs is very much troubled over it and is now establishing Tenaraisyo all over the province. He hopes that not only the children, but older persons as well, will come to these places to learn lessons on the five relations of human life and on morality. We shall be very glad if even a few of the sons of the farmers shall some day be able to learn and really understand the four classics, the five classics the Book of Filial Piety, and the Shogaku, as well as accounting and thus be able to uplift the life of the people of their neighborhood."

The language of this proclamation is hardly as lofty and flowery as that employed by Kobo Daishi in his proclamation at the founding of the So-gei-shu-chi-in, but this one of Mitsumasa's was backed up by the reality of one hundred and twenty schools throughout the province, with an earnest and enlightened ruler behind them.

What the general plan of this ruler was, may be seen from the following translation of a letter written by the same official who issued the proclamation, to the chief educational official of the province. It is dated 1663, rather early in the Tokugawa Era, though not at the very beginning. It is divided into nine sections and runs somewhat as follows:-

1- In each village Tenaraisho, writing and accounting must be the chief subjects taught to beginners.

2- If any persons desire to learn reading, they shall be taught that branch as well.

3- The teacher of the Tenaraisho should be either an ex-head man of a village, or an ex-elder, or a brother or a son of such a person, If, however, such a person cannot be found to take the place, some other learned man who seems to be able to manage children and who has no other settled employment may be called to take the place.

4- A reading master shall be sent to the home of any child if request is made for him to be so sent. But as these reading masters are officials of the county and there is only one in each, there may not be enough to supply the demand. If therefore the Tenaraisho can find some one to assist in this work, it will be a great help.

5- Children of village head men, village elders, or of people wealthy enough to afford it, must be sent to the Tenaraisho. Those who enter must attend at least fifteen days each month, for they are the boys, who, when they become men, must serve in the various public offices, and if they

are not familiar with the work in writing and accounting they cannot perform their official duties properly. Those persons who, though poor, wish to send their children to the Tenaraisbonmay do so if they wish, but they are not to be compelled to do so.

6- Once or twice a year according to the wish of the people, there are to be public lectures. In such a case, the head man of the village which has preferred the request and the head men of all the neighboring villages together with all the married men in the village, shall attend the lecture.

7- In all such cases, the lecturer will be sent by the provincial government.

8- At the present time the provincial government is supporting these schools, but this cannot be continued indefinitely, as the expense is too great. The support will, however, be continued till the interest of the people is roused (say five or six years) and after that the people, through the country or the villages offices, must bear the burden of their support.

9- There may be local difficulties which will prevent the carrying out of one or another of these provisions, and if there are such the school should apply to the provincial government for a release from such obligations.

Such a system must have done much for the province in which it was located, even though it was short-lived. The drain on the provincial finances was heavy and the plan was not especially pleasing to the shogunate, as that body did not care to have the people too well educated. These and other causes

led to the forced retirement of Mitsumasa in favor of his son who was less enthusiastic in the good cause than his father or was more sensitive to the attitude of the Edo authorities, and the system gradually fell into decay. It seems, however, to have had a real effect on the character of the people, for when some years later a list of thirteen filial sons was made for the purpose of encouraging filial piety, six of them were from this same province of Bizen. Very few of the other Daimyo were wise, (or foolish) enough to follow the example of this one. The Lord of Owari (Nagoya) did a little to encourage popular education, but all the rest seem to have looked upon it as a matter entirely beneath their notice or beyond their power.

Turning now from the more general aspects of the Tera-koya and the Tenaraisho, to the smaller details of their management and curriculum, we find them in many ways like their ascetor, the Chinese school of the Kyoto period, though with small changes to suit their more democratic spirit and practical aims.

The teacher was still the object of deep veneration and respect and was looked up to not only by his pupils, but by the whole community which he served. When a pupils entered school, normally at six to eight years of age, he always brought a present of some kind to the teacher and the ceremony was called "Tera-iri" or "Entering the Temple", even when the school was in a private house. These presents, together with those given at the New Year and on other festival days, were the only tuition paid by the pupils. In general, the teachers in these schools had other sources of income, and did this work

for pleasure, or from philanthropic motives, or to eke out an income too small for comfortable living. Very few, if any, taught the people for direct tuition, as a real means of support. This had a good effect upon the schools in one way, as it eliminated to a very great extent the commercial element in any form in the relations between the teacher and the people.

The schools in the large cities were often in buildings with no yards or grounds about them, but in the country they were more fortunate as land was cheaper and the teacher could more often afford a small plot of ground for a breathing space. The buildings were usually, though not always, fairly bright and airy, but there was rarely more than one teacher in a school even when the number of pupils ran up as high as two or three hundred.

The pupils, for purposes of discipline were seated at desks arranged around three sides of the room, the teacher occupying a seat in the middle of the fourth side. The pupils all sat directly on the mats or on cushions in ordinary Japanese style. The teacher sat in the same manner, but his place was sometimes raised a little above the main floor and he sometimes had some kind of a rest behind him against which he could lean. In front of him were arranged two or three low desks at which those whom he was instructing could sit and on his own desk were his books, if he used any, and abacus, writing brushes, ink, etc. Of this equipment, the individual desks of the pupils were their own property and the remainder belonged to the priest or to the temple. In a few cases all the desks

seem to have been public property or to have belonged to the teacher for we are told that the pupils took their places at their desks in the order in which they arrived in the morning, though the usual custom was for the teacher to fix the order as he saw fit.

In each school, one boy was appointed by the teacher as a monitor to assist in the work of management and discipline. Thus, he cared for the roll books, and sometimes sat by the door to watch the manners of his fellows as they passed in and out of the room, reporting them to the master if they were unsatisfactory in this respect.

The time for work was more or less irregular, but was usually about six or seven hours a day, beginning about seven-thirty and closing at two-thirty. The pupils were expected to remain at their desks during the whole of this time except that a few moments were given for relaxation about once in an hour. Holidays were granted on all festival days and the fifth, fifteenth and twenty-fifth days of every month. There was also a vacation of one month from the middle of December to the middle of January for the purpose of preparing for and celebrating all New Year festivities.

The methods of teaching were much the same as those in use in the old Chinese schools. The pupils were called up to the desk in front of the teacher's seat, one or two, or even three or four at a time and shown how to write certain ideographs. In doing this the teacher wrote the character and the student copied it from him, making all the strokes in the proper order. Many teachers became experts in writing up-

side-down, as that was the most convenient way of doing things under this system. After the pupils had been taught to make the ideographs, they went back to their seats and practised writing them over and over on the same piece of paper. These sheets of paper were used day after day just as they were in the older schools centuries before. The work of one morning was supposed to be the filling of fifteen sheets of white paper with ideographs, carefully written, from two to six on a sheet, or five or six hundred sheets that is, fifty or sixty books of ten sheets each of the kind on which one character was written over and over on the same sheet, for memory and hand drill. The afternoon's task was half of this amount.

When a pupils began he was allowed to put but two ideographs on a page, as it was necessary for him to write them large and clear, but as he progressed he was allowed to put four or six or more on a page, thus gradually bringing them down to the proper size for ordinary use. From time to time the work was brought to the teacher for inspection and if he was not satisfied with it, the pupil was compelled to repeat the same task over again. The labor of learning to write was the principal work of the pupil for some time after he entered the school. His books were the One Thousand Character Essay, used exclusively for teaching writing, the Doji Hyo or teaching for the young, the Jitsugo Kyo, or Moral Lesson, the Bamposet-suyo, or small encyclopedia, the Sanji Kyo, or text-book on arithmetic, the Shobai Orai, a list of the names of things, and the Teikin Orai which has been mentioned before. Of course

were not the only books used, nor were all these always used for in a system in which every school was a law unto itself, it could hardly be expected that there would be any uniform set of text-books, but there are some of the most popular one of those days.

As we might expect, the work of learning to read went along with that of learning to write and the examinations which the student was expected to pass seem to have been as nearly reading, or one ought perhaps to say memory, examinations as they were tests in writing. The ordinary tests came once a month and there was a semi-annual one called the Sekigaki, or writing in the presence of the teacher. In the ordinary tests the pupils who were to be tested were called forward and searched to see that they had no books concealed about them. When this was over, they were set to work writing from memory. In the case of the semi-annual Sekigake, they were expected to recite or to write as required, entirely from memory the contents of five or six or even fifty or sixty books. These books however, were very small so the task was not so impossible as it might seem, though even the reciting or writing from memory the contents of fifty or sixty thin books is more than modern pupils would care to undertake. We are told, too, that this examination was a very difficult one, which statement is not hard to believe.

Before being able to pass any of these major examinations, the pupils were expected to be able to write in both the running and the semi-running styles, but little attention was paid to the matter of learning the more exact square style.

The running styles are far more difficult of execution, as they are mostly abbreviated forms and must be written with a bold hand. The result, to the eyes of one who cannot read it, is much like the proverbial hen-tracks, though it would give the additional impression that the hen had rheumatism in her toes and had had a glass too much besides. To those who can appreciate it, however, it has a different aspect and it is much admired by educated Japanese.*

So far as the first two of the three R's are concerned, then, there seems to have been but little advance in method or practice over the earlier Chinese schools except that in the Terakoya and Tenaraisyo the students probably learned a little more of the meaning of what they read and wrote as they went along, though even in this respect they were not very much better off than their ancestors of the Kyoto Period.

But when we turn to the more practical side of their work, the matter of arithmetic and accounts we find that they were far ahead of the older system in method and notation. This was due to the fact that during the time of Hideyoshi the man who really did the work of uniting the country, just at the end of the sixteenth century, someone brought the abacus or "Soroban" from China. Its advantages were so obvious that within five or six years its use in the work of calculating became universal and it has remained so ever since. Today every petty shop-keeper who adds three numbers, or sometimes even two, uses it just as does the banker in making his most difficult calcu-

See Appendix XIV.

lations. Whether or not it is a wholly unmixed blessing to all who use it is not a question to be discussed here.*

The work in arithmetic seems to have begun with the learning of the multiplication and division tables and some other fundamental work which seems to have been put into the form of a series of thirty-one syllabled poems (the regular form for a Japanese poem) by a man named Imamura, about the year 1641. Following this part of the work came the use of weighing apparatus. The only kind of scales then in use in Japan were steel-yards of the same pattern as those still used in all ordinary work today.

The only other regular work which seems to have been given to the pupils was the drawing of polygons from triangles to pentadecagons. Their methods of work had little to do with real calculation, but went into details of accuracy that seem almost absurd when we realize how little of the real process could have been fully understood. The figures were constructed by means of compasses and a ruler, and sometimes by folding paper.** These latter exercises, the use of the folded paper together with the use of the abacus were taught largely in connection with a book called the Sanja Otogi Soshi, or book of mathematical recreations. The work given along this line may be better appreciated by a glance at the sample problem from this work given in the appendix. Even in the one sample exercise given the processes of multiplication, division

*See Appendix XV.

**See Appendix XVI.

addition, and the use of fractions are involved and the whole problem bears upon the real work of life in a more or less practical manner, though some of us might put more emphasis on the less than on the more in this case.*

These three things, the 3 R's made up the ostensible curriculum of the Torakoya and the Tenaraisyo, which it took about six or seven years to complete. But it must not be inferred from this that nothing else was taught and that the student got nothing from his schooling but the bare ability to read and write simple forms and to do a little calculating on his abacus. In the first place, now and then, a boy, or even a girl, went on to a study of the classics, though this was not a very common thing. But even those who did not go on to this work felt the moral impulse of the school and gathered varied information from the books used for reading and writing. The Doji Kyo, or Teachings for the Young, was clearly only a book on morals, and other books had more or less of such teaching in them.

The schools which were connected with the temples felt the influence of the religious atmosphere around them and thus received more of an impulse toward better things than they might otherwise have done. But through it all runs something of the sugar-coated-pill pedagogy that seems to have been necessary in order to attract the pupils and make them absorb anything beyond the most practical things in life. In contrast to the old Chinese Schools and even the contemporary provincial ones, where such a thing as the consideration of the practical

value of a study seems never to have been really thought of, these every-day commoners seem to have cared little for anything that was not to be of use to them in their struggle to gain a livelihood. Literature, moral teachings, or general knowledge counted for little compared with reading, writing, and accounting.

The reason for this difference is not far to seek. The student of the earlier school or of the later Shogunate University (the Shoher Zaka School) or even of the local provincial school of the daimyo had little need to be troubled about how he was to get a living. He was practically assured of enough to support life and perhaps more. More than that, in the case of the earlier school, at least, and to some extent in the later ones as well, his advancement in life, especially political and educational circles, the ones in which he expected to move mostly, depended, theoretically at least, on his knowledge of the classics rather than on any practical knowledge of science or other branches. In the age of which we are now speaking, the elimination of arithmetic was necessitated by the fact that the samurai could not study anything that had the least taint of commercialism in it, and was thus left with literature only, the most unpractical of studies from a utilitarian standpoint. On the other hand, during the Middle Ages, and to some extent during the first part of the Tokugawa Era, the man of the common people had no easy time of it, and had very little time while he was young to study the classics. He could not spare the years necessary for becoming familiar with the masterpieces of the sages, but bent his energies

toward getting from his teacher those things which would help him to get on in the world in which he moved.

The priest-teacher, as well as the official who encouraged the work, and in general the lay teacher as well, wanted to impress upon the crude youth of the commoner's family some sort of moral lessons. Therefore they put such teachings into the writing exercises and thus began the work of the sugar-pill pedagogy, simply as an antidote to the over-practical aims of the pupils and their parents under the pressure of their condition in life. These conditions, however, changed rapidly, and by the end of the seventeenth century, the unwonted peace had brought more leisure and comfort to the commoner and his family, and the boys and girls in the schools turned, not so much to more study of the classics and other cultural branches as the pressure for practical work lessened, but to low-class songs and other literature of a not very elevating type that was all too common at that time. Therefore those dry and uninteresting tables were put into the form of songs and administered to the pupils. So the boy or girl who came only to learn to read or write had more or less of morals pumped into him or her through his copies and later the lazy ones who dreaded the drudgery of the tables were coaxed into learning them by means of songs and at the time some, though not much progress was made in supplanting worse songs by these more useful if not literarily beautiful ones, thus continuing the same sort of coaxing policy through both the age of hardship and that of luxury as well.

The extent to which these schools reached the people they were intended to serve is impossible to determine as there were few records kept in any official way of the number in attendance. We can only say that it must have varied much in different parts of the empire. Our only records upon which we are able to base any estimate whatever are those which give the total number of such schools which ever existed in each of the provinces/ How many of them were really going at any one time is still an unsolved question. This total number varies from only nine in the present prefecture of Miyazaki in Kyushu to one thousand three hundred and forty-six in Nagano prefecture. We are not surprised to find that Okayama prefecture, covering the old province of Bizen, which made such progress under Ikeda Mitumasā in the seventeenth century comes third with one thousand and sixty-one schools. The second place is held by Yamaguchi prefecture, with one thousand three hundred and sixteen schools. This is one of the places which made more or less effort in the way of education even before the settling down of the country under the Tokugawa rule in 1600. The scarcity of these schools in Kyushu as shown by the nine in Miyazaki nineteen in Kagoshima and twenty-seven in Saga prefectures is perhaps partly due to the haughty, overbearing, ultra-proud spirit of the samurai in those parts of the country. These men have proved trouble-some at times as well as grand leaders at others, and all the time showing the proud spirit of the Bushi, which must have acted as a strong repressive force whenever any effort to rise showed itself among the common people. There was no lack of schools for the higher classes in

these provinces and it may possibly be that to some extent these served the lower classes as well, making the Terakoya and Tennaraisho less necessary/ The former explanation seems the more reasonable, however, though it is difficult to give a clear and correct explanation of such a condition.

What the effect of these schools was upon the life of the common people, is also very hard to determine. Undoubtedly they did do much to raise the general level of intelligence and morals throughout the empire. But the meagerness of the records and the slipshod methods of many Japanese historians makes it very difficult to make any real estimate. One thing, however, can be said, namely that the Terakoya and the Tennaraisho were the predecessors of the common school system of today in which the children of the former commoners' families mingle with those of the old samurai and never, even since the beginning, have the descendants of these early humble classes been found lacking. They stand side by side in mental, physical and moral qualities, and no one who does not know from the family records can say today, "This is the child of commoner and that is one of a samurai." The charge of dishonesty and general untrustworthiness, so often made against the Japanese merchant is usually explained by saying that he was for years the lowest grade of commoner, but this is not so much a reflection on the lack of influence in the schools in which they were taught as it is on the attitude of the higher classes toward him and his consequent retaliation in the only way open to him.

A clearer indication of the value of these old schools is the valiant manner in which men from the ranks of the common people came forward as soon as the way was open for them to advance, when the old distinction between samurai and commoner man was abolished. They took their place in the army and the government alongside of their one-time superiors and held their own like men of ability and strength. This has gone on until within the past few years it is said that even the type of face regarded as most beautiful in a woman has changed. Formerly it was the oval face of the high class women that were most admired and the round faced lower class man or woman was looked down upon. Today, the round faced type of men and women have risen to such importance that now it is the round faced woman who is coming to be more and more admired. All this means that the old commoner is coming to his own by virtue of his importance, is forcing his type of beauty on the country. This he could not have done in the short space of thirty-five or forty years if he had not had behind him something of real worth in the way of education among his ancestors. The foundation of his present strength lies in the Terakoya and Tenaraisho just as the stern military virtues and literary taste of the higher classes hark back to the old code of morals of the samurai class.

So we may say that in spite of all defects and weaknesses in spite of governmental neglect and lack of popular enthusiasm the Terakoya and Tenaraisho did a great work for Japan not only in their own day, but for all time, Let us therefore be thankful to Kobo Daishi and his fellow priests for their pioneer

work in this direction even though the beginnings were small and the highest point of efficiency ever reached at any time was not as high as we might have wished it to be.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Introduction of Foreign Learning.

The discussion of this phase of Japanese education belongs mainly to the history of the present modern school system, but since the movement began so far back within the period now under consideration we may put in a few words under this head here.

There had been, as everyone knows, a good deal of intercourse between Japan and the countries of Italy, Spain, and Portugal previous to the beginning of the Tokugawa Age. Missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church had worked in most parts of the Empire and numbered their converts by the thousand. They had even a few schools for the education of their Japanese priests and deacons, but had gone little further than this in the way of imparting knowledge. They did not care to give the general run of their converts any education beyond what they considered was necessary for the salvation of their souls. But when the persecution which began near the end of the sixteenth century was ended there was little visible trace of anything Occidental in the mental and spiritual equipment or the material possessions of any Japanese. The clearing out of the danger of contamination from the West had been so thoroughly done that nothing smattering of the Occident was left, so far as one could

see on the surface and it must have seemed as if no Jesuit or other westerner had ever touched the shores of the empire. The twenty thousand Christians discovered two hundred and fifty years later in Kyushu were hiding their beliefs so well that no government detective could ferret it out. The Dutch were still allowed to live on the island of Deshima in the harbor of Nagasaki, but were watched with the utmost strictness. A special censor of foreign books was appointed and stationed at that port, the only place in the country where foreign ships were allowed to come at all, and only Dutch and Chinese ships were allowed to come there.

But in spite of all this care on the part of the government, it became known to some Japanese at least, that the Dutch were skilled in astronomy and medicine, both sciences of the greatest importance in Japan. Besides this, one of the greatest scholars of the shogunate, Arai Hakuseki, published a book on western learning called the Seiyō Kibun in which he put down all the information he had been able to gather about western things from the zealous but unfortunate priest, Father Sidotti, who caused himself to be landed and deserted on the coast of Kyushu in 1708, with the wild hope that he might be allowed to preach the Christian religion. He was immediately arrested and sent to Edo, and there Hakuseki was set at the task of examining him. The results of these investigations were extremely meager, for Sidotti landed in Japan without a word of Japanese to his mental credit and aside from Chinese, Hakuseki was just as ignorant of any language but his native one. One of the main things that impressed Hakuseki in the

good priest was his zeal and his obstinate clinging to certain, to the philosopher's mind, absolutely foolish notions on religion and as to the origin of things. The work had little effect on anyone however, and is interesting to us only as the first book on western things in Japan. Its main value is in the absolute ignorance of things Occidental which it reveals and the stern self-sufficiency or almost bigotry which the learned scholar showed in the face of a system of thought different from his own. Undoubtedly Father Sidotti showed off to very poor advantage partly on account of his very scant knowledge of the language, but even aside from that fact we could hardly expect anything but contempt for his beliefs from such a positivist as Hakuseki was. In fact we find examples of much the same kind of attitude among many of the great Chinese scholars of the Island Empire. Any one who has read western history, however, will hardly be ready to allow the eastern sages a monopoly of this feeling of intolerance.

A few years later than this, the Shogun Yoshimune (1717-1744) became interested in astronomy and hearing that the Dutch were skilled in such things, called a man named Nishikawa Joken, a native of Nagasaki, who was said to have learned much of things of this sort from the Dutch, to Edo and questioned. This so encouraged some of the men who had been acting as interpreters between the Dutch and the government officials that they applied to the government to be allowed to learn to read and write Dutch. Hitherto they had only been allowed to learn orally, but now, some time between 1712 and 1735 they were given the desired permission to learn how to read and write the

language which they had been speaking and listening to for some time.

The next move in this important work of importing foreign learning reads in places almost like a comedy, but it was a tragedy as we may see very easily if we consider the patience and perseverance of some of the actors in the drama. The Shogun Yoshimune got hold of a few Dutch books in some way, was greatly attracted by the engravings in them and was very desirous to know the meaning of the text. He therefore ordered two persons, Aoki Bunzo and Horo Genjo (the former the keeper of the government library and a Confucian scholar, though desirous also of acquiring western learning) to learn to read Dutch. How he expected them to do so is somewhat of a mystery as there was no one in Edo who could teach them and there were no books of any kind for the use of students of the foreign language. He must have expected them to dig it out by some process related to the one by which the Assyrian and Babylonian languages have been deciphered by modern scholars. How these men spent the most of the time they were at this task we are not told, but they were allowed to be present at the time when the annual messenger from the Dutch at Nagasaki arrived, accompanied by the official interpreter. They worked on in this way for several years, but with little result, for they seem to have gotten no further than a knowledge of the alphabet. Just before the death of Yoshimune they were ordered to go to Nagasaki to study along with the official interpreters. They accordingly went and acquired some real knowledge of the language there.



The first man to acquire anything like an adequate knowledge of Dutch was Maeno Ryotaku, who learned more or less from Aoki Bunzo and then by his own efforts, being allowed to study in Nagasaki for some time, actually got mastery enough of the language to be able to make translations and compilations from translations.

The main part of the learning of the West that "leaked in" through the Dutch on the island of Deshima was medical, as has been said. Nishi, one of the official interpreters, learned so much that he received a sort of a diploma of some kind from a Dutch doctor, the first of its kind in the country. Some time about the middle of the eighteenth century, two women, one named Sugita Gempaku and the other Katsuragawa Hoshu, came to Maeno Ryotaku to learn Dutch, as they wanted to acquire a knowledge of this western theory of medical treatment called "Rampo" or "Holland Learning". If they could get such a knowledge, they might aspire to high places in the state, for the "Rampo" physicians were usually attached to the shogun's court. The number of men who had advanced far enough in this line to be eligible to high office was very small, and as a matter of fact, the real progress of even such men may be doubted, for they still were in doubt as to whether the Chinese charts or the Dutch ones were really correct. They may have learned a good deal about how to concoct and give medicines, but certainly they cannot have made any progress in surgery, the art for which the Japanese physicians are famous today, as long as they held any faith at all in the old view. It was left, however, to Maeno and his pupils Sugita to break with

a more decisive blow the hold of the ancient Chinese ideas of anatomy on the minds and practice of Japanese physicians.

It happened in this way. Some time about 1770 or a little earlier these two men got hold of a Dutch book on anatomy. The drawings in this book did not agree with those in the Chinese texts on the subject, and in spite of tradition these two men had a great desire to examine a real body and to see which was right. This was heresy from the standpoint of the old classical scholars, but nevertheless they wanted to make the trial. They obtained the permission of the government to dissect the body of a criminal and on March 4, 1771, they performed the examination and found that the Dutch were right. They immediately set to work with the help of a few others to translate the work in question into Japanese, or rather into Chinese, which was the language of all scholars of that day. This was no easy task for none of the men concerned wanted to allow the official interpreters to have anything to do with the work, but among the translators there were some who did not have even a knowledge of the Dutch alphabet and none of them knew much more. But soon a slight knowledge of the language was acquired and the work began. Word by word, sentence by sentence, sometimes only a word a day, the work went on and at last in 1774, it was finished and the book was published, the first book on foreign medicine ever put out in Japan.

From this time on, little by little, a small amount of western medicine as well as geography, astronomy, European military tactics, chemistry, physics, botany, etc. crept in. It was continued to a very narrow circle, however, as those who

were bold enough to undertake this work were under suspicion of the government as well as opposed by the conservatives, as they were considered by the former as restless and likely to disturb the peace of the nation and the latter regarded all importation of foreign things as a desecration of "Land of the Gods", as Japan is sometimes called.

The remainder of the history of the introduction of foreign learning belongs to the period of confusion and restlessness that came just prior to the opening of the country to free foreign intercourse and continued until the emperor had been restored to his rightful place as real sovereign, and the present era of Meiji, or "Enlightened Rule " began. Such learning had but little effect on the old system in the form in which it existed at that time except to sap its strength and cause it to die for want of support and students. The rise of temporary schools of western learning and the transformation of some of the older institutions into such schools all belong to the history of the present system of education rather than to the earlier period, and we may therefore leave the chronicling of such events to the man who shall take up that part of the work.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Jusha or Professional Scholar.

Near the end of the sixteenth century, as Hideyoshi and Ieyasu slowly subdued the country and interest in learning revived, the work of teaching, as has been said, slipped from the exclusive control of the priests. They had had this profession in their own hands for many years and had done a noble work, but they necessarily kept a religious atmosphere about them that was distasteful to many. Fujiwara Seika was the first man to rebel strongly against this monopoly and become a Jusha or professional lay scholar. He did some teaching and lecturing, but was also for a part of his life in the employ of the shogun. After him came a long line of men who lectured, taught, held government offices, or even did other things to keep the kettle boiling a little more briskly, but who were known as scholars, primarily, that is, as Jusha. Some of them were men of the common people who had had opportunities to study and had improved them, taking some one way to rise out of their hereditary social rank or employment. Some were priests who had become so enamored of the classics that they gave up their orders and entered the ranks of the laity in order not to be hampered by their religious duties. But by far the largest number of these men, at least during the

earlier part of the Tokugawa age, were Ronin, masterless samurai. Many of the warlike daimyo, in fact all of them, had been brought under control by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, and since in that case there was no more fighting to do, their restless followers could no longer be held together so firmly as before. A large number of these men wandered about the country seeking some place where there was fighting to do, ready to join any master who would feed and arm them and give them a chance for a struggle. Thus they were a constant menace to the country, one which was sometimes very much in evidence, for they were the men who formed a large part of the armies which fought against Ieyasu in the two Osaka wars. But even so, wanderers as they were, many of them were men with a strong sense of duty. The forty-seven Ronin of the story which goes by that name were men of this class. Others degenerated into mere hirelings, ready for any desperate deed that promised reward enough to keep them in food and clothes for a while or which would give them the means for a few days debauch. Such were many of the men who made it so dangerous for foreigners in the early days of intercourse with the West.

There were others, however, who still kept hold of the idea that learning should be on a par with the arts of war in the work of the samurai, and when they lost all employment for their swords they turned to their pens and became Jusha.

The best and ables of these professional scholars no matter from which of these three classes they came, were the men who moulded national thought in Japan. They were the leaders of schools of thought, lecturers who gathered men about

them and expounded to them the teachings of the ancient sages. Many of them were employed by the shogun's government or by the daimyo, they were the men who taught in the shogun's school and in those of the provinces as well and in the Terakoya and the Tenaraisbo. The long line of Hayashis who were successively at the head of the Shohei Zaka School in Edo, and who usually did work of an adviser to the Shogun as well, were men of this type. Such men as these were a real help in the intellectual development of the people. And although they were often disputed over very abstract metaphysical questions, as did the school men of Europe, yet like those same school men, they kept the idea of learning from dying out and sharpened their wits in their fierce disputes over "Ri" and "Ki" and "Sei" and other deep unpractical nature.

But not all Jusha could attain to such eminence either in real ability or in office as these men did. Many of them succumbed to the influence of the methods of the time and became mere rote teachers. They absorbed what they were told by the men who taught them, but did no more. The knowledge thus gained remained in their minds a totally undigested mass of dull and often useless information. In some extreme cases they were so lacking in appreciation of what real learning meant that they were content with simply learning to read the classics, without the slightest idea of what they meant. They could either repeat the books by heart or give the sounds of the ideographs when they saw them but had not the remotest idea of the meaning of the words or what the characters stood for.

Some of this was due to the fact that the men were not scholars by nature, but the system, the same as that used in Kyoto centuries before was to blame for this state of affairs to some degree also, as many of these poorer men were those who had stopped after having learned to read the books, without having heard any explanation at all and who after a while, by force of circumstances became teachers.

So, as we look back at these men, some of them half teachers and half officials, some gaining a precarious livelihood by lecturing to such students as cared to hear them, the product of the teachings of Confucius, who believed that the "Superior man" as he calls him, should rule and teach, we find in them much that resembles the school men of the European Middle Ages, and among the best of them men who approach in function and position the sages of Greece and Rome, or even the great educationists of more modern times. Kaibara Ekiken, a man of this class has often been compared to Locke, and others were leaders of the great schools of thought that arose in the country or were imported from China. But whatever their work or position, they were the nearest to the "Superior man" that Japan has ever produced and in many ways set ideals for educated men which have lasted to the present and are still in force to some extent. For example, many of them have still held over from the old regime and are still working on in the old way, some of them teaching the classics to such as care to learn them, men who have not had the opportunity to go to school, and others are in the employ of the more conservative

of the old nobility who still keep up the custom of having scholars attached to their households or their persons. All of them are quiet, sedate, dignified men, entirely unlike the teacher of the modern educational staff. And as one meets and talks with these old men, for they are all elderly, it is hard to feel some regret that their type of quiet self-contained scholarship, narrow and bigoted as much of it was and is, should be passing away so rapidly in spite of the fact that these men are still highly respected by all who know them. Some of them in the early years of the present era held positions in the newly established system of schools, but now their places have been taken by a new generation filled with more modern knowledge and with a lesser reverence for the classics. The day of the Jusha who taught the men who came to him for what presents they saw fit to make him and who served one or another daimyo as adviser or secretary, passed away with the dawning of the Meiji Era, and the Jusha himself will soon be wholly extinct, all because,

"The old order changeth, giving place to new,

And God fulfills himself in many ways,

Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

CHAPTER XX.

Lecturers or Story-tellers.

During the years of civil war preceding the age of the Tokugawa, the ignorance of the people was simply appalling at times. More than this, the ordinary man of the street, the merchant or artisan, as well as the farmer, had too little education to be capable of being taught by the ordinary sages of the day, that is, he understood only ordinary simple Japanese, while they spoke a classical or literary dialect filled with Chinese words and allusions to Chinese history which were all absolutely unintelligible to him. This led some men to conceive the idea of putting moral teaching into such a form as to be both intelligible and palatable to these men of the lower classes and to teach the masses as such by means of lectures and stories. These men delivered talks more or less moral in tone in connection with some historical story which was told, of course with such a fringe of detail as to make it vivid and interesting. At first this was a very respectable profession, but before the end of the sixteenth century it had degenerated because of the men who engaged in it and their manner of doing it. The earlier men

had had halls and really lectured with a moral purpose, but gradually men skillful in pantomime began to take up similar work along the roadside and along the streets. Boin and priests who could not get a living in any other way turned to this as a way to their interest to make their stories as attractive as possible to the people, a proceeding which did not wholly tend, as we may readily suppose, to raise their moral tone.

By the end of the seventeenth century the material prosperity of the people had become very great and as they looked around for amusement, and for a place to spend their well-earned cash in some pleasant way, the story-teller seemed to fill the bill very well. Such entertainers then became very common and the profession took on a new lease of respectability for this time some of the most skillful were invited to perform in the presence of daimyo, while at times men went into the profession with a real educational purpose. These latter certainly did do some good, for they gave to the people more or less instruction in morals at a time when they needed it badly.

The early entertainers of this kind used to read it or recite from the "Tai-hei-ki" a pseudo history of some of Japan's wars, but later all kinds of books were drawn upon, but war stories and tales of the conflict of love and duty were the most popular. The daimyo usually called for war stories whenever they called such a man to perform for them and their retainers, but to the common people the other theme was equally attractive. Some men actually did their own

improvising and were very successful at it.

One whose name was Baba Bunko did this in a hall of his own. He was something of a thinker as well as an entertainer, and did not like some of the acts of the shogun's government. Inasmuch as any open criticism of those in power was punished quickly and severely, he veiled his statements more or less, but was not successful in keeping the spies of the authorities from finding out what he was driving at, and was hanged.

Another of this same kind of story-teller used to allude to the abuses of the government in a joking manner. He was more successful in his efforts to hood-wind the officials, for they came to the conclusion that he was crazy and did not molest him!

At times the government forbade such men to ply their trade in the streets on account of the blocking of the thoroughfares by the crowds, but aside from this and checking political agitators, they seem to have left these story-tellers and platform educators to do as they pleased in the main.

One interesting feature of this phase of Japanese education is the fact that it has survived in a partially changed form until the present time. There are still men who make a fair living by telling stories for the entertainment of their hearers. They have lost their educational aim almost wholly and in many cases their stories cannot be called very good educational material from a moral standpoint, but they still work in the same manner as these earlier men did. This is given an additional interest from the matter mentioned in the follow-

ing clipping from the "Japan Mail" during the spring of the year 1911.

"Department of Education has under consideration a scheme for enforcing popular education and the matter is now being discussed. According to the report the scheme has for its object the universalization of education and the salient features of the proposal consist of (1) holding popular lecture meetings in various localities, (2) giving a series of lectures by means of cinematographs, (3) engaging professional story tellers to talk on educational matters under instruction from the educational authorities and (4) establishing in various localities lending libraries to bring popular books, etc. within the reach of the people. It has been decided to entrust the business to local educational societies and an effort is being made to enlist the services of the various Tokyo journals on the committee."

The first of these schemes is only a return, under official auspices, to the old educational lecture method; the second is a twentieth century method of the same thing; while the third is simply a turning to educational uses the degenerate successors of these earlier popular educators. That is, in other words, the government of today is taking up as a means of universalizing education, in an official way, the same method as that of private individuals some centuries ago. So we may be sure that this movement and these men did have a very strong influence upon the people, and did much for their enlightenment, though it would be very hard to trace out the results with any degree of accuracy. But if the government of today

sees fit to use this method of work there must have been some good result from it in the past.

However, a year's trial of this plan with so little success that the new liberal ministry, early in 1912, took up the matter of moral instruction for the people, for that was the real reason back of the 1911 plan, making an appeal to the religionists of the country to help on in the matter. The old plan was hardly fitted to new conditions, however well it may have worked in earlier days.

CHAPTER XXI.

Systems of Thought in Japan.

1-The Shushi School.

Of the first three of these schools, the earliest in time is what is called the Shushi (Chinese Chu-hi) School. Its founder was a Chinese, Chu-hi (Japanese Shushi) who lived during the twelfth century, and has been called the Martin Luther of Chinese Confucian thought because of his having dared to think for himself while still believing himself that he was true to the old masters. His teachings came to Japan in the following manner.

Fujiwara Seika, the man who first protested against the monopoly of the work of teaching by the priests, after becoming more or less disgusted with things at the court of the shogun where he always found himself surrounded by priests, tried to find some opportunity to go to China to pursue the study of the classics, of which he was so fond, in their native land. However, he was only able to get as far as Satsuma, the southern part of Kyushu, but he was lucky in this for the Daimyo there was fond of Chinese books, also. While staying there he discovered, in the library of this nobleman some books giving a new interpretation of some of the writings of the

sages. Seika persuaded the daimyo to give him these books, which he then carried back to Kyoto with him. Thus the first books on the Shushi School came to the notice of the Scholars of Japan.

Seika did not remain in the capital long, however, but established himself in a small village north of Kyoto and there taught many who came to sit at his feet. Even court nobles and daimyo came to him to hear his new interpretation of the classics.

Some time during this period he fell in with the young man who was later to make Seika famous, Hayashi Razan, or Doshun as he called himself after he had shaved his head and ostensibly became a priest. Hayashi was happy in having found such a teacher and Seika was certainly glad to have such an able disciple. Both were men who really thought and tried to make the classics something more than simply dry principles or dead records of the past. A further bond of sympathy was the fact that both of them had suffered at the hands of the priests. In the case of Doshun, this persecution went so far that after he began to teach the views which he had imbibed from Seika, that is, those of the Shushi School, the priests decided that he must be punished as a heretic. It was necessary for them to get the consent of the Ieyasu before they could carry out any such drastic measures, and they accordingly sent word of their decision to the shogun. His reply must have been something of a shock to them for he not only did not concur in their opinion that Doshun should be punished, but praised the young man and his teachings highly. What their feelings were when they

were thus worsted by a man whom they considered as a heretical young upstart can only be imagined by one who realizes the bitterness with which these school men of Japan contended over even the smallest points of doctrine.

This system of interpretation of the ancient books which was being taught by Hayashi and which had attracted the attention of Ieyasu was the one which had been found in the books which Seika had brought back from Satsuma, the Shushi interpretation of the old masters. In order to set before the reader a better picture of the main points of this system than can be had from one who has made but a casual study of the subject, let us turn to some of the discussions of the matter found in the transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

To begin with, in the writings of Confucius there is a faint shadow remaining of what may earlier have been a conception of a personal God, but it is very faint indeed, and by the time of Shushi (1130-1200) was practically gone and forgotten. But this does not mean that the Chinese philosophers regarded the universe from the standpoint of materialist; they were nearer to the pantheist than to the mechanical materialist. In the words of Eitel, quoted by Professor Knox in the transactions:-

"There was in the beginning one abstract principle or monad, called the 'absolute nothing', which evolved out of itself the 'great absolute'. This abstract principal or monad, the great absolute, is the primordial cause of all existence. When it first moved its, breath or vital energy

congealing, produced the great male principle. When it had moved to the uttermost, it rested, produced the female principle. After it had rested to the utmost extent, it moved again, and thus went on in alternate motion and rest without cessation. When this supreme cause divided itself into male and female, that which was above constituted heaven, and that which was beneath formed the earth. Thus it was that heaven and earth were made. But the supreme cause having produced by evolution the male and female principles, and through them heaven and earth, ceased not its constant permutations, in the course of which men and animals, vegetables and minerals rose into being. The same vital energy, moreover has continued to act ever since, and continued to act through those two originating causes, the male and the female powers of nature, which ever since mutually and alternately push and agitate one another without a moment's intermission.

Now the energy animating the two principles is called in Chinese K'i (Japanese Ki) or the breath of nature. When this breath first went forth and produced the male and female principles and finally the whole universe, it did not do so arbitrarily or at random, but followed fixed, inscrutable, and immutable laws. These laws, or order of nature, called Li, were therefore abstractly considered prior to the issuing of the vital breath, and must therefore be considered separately. Again, considering this Li (Japanese Ri) or the general order of the Universe, the ancient sages observed that all the laws of nature and all the workings of its breath are in strict

accordance with certain mathematical principles, which may be traced or illustrated by diagrams, exhibiting the numerical proportions of the universe called Su, or numbers. But these three principles are not cognizable to the senses: they are hidden from view and only become manifest through forms and outlines of visible nature."

This was the system which had been picked up by Seika and was being made more widely known through Hayashi Doshun. The Japanese picked it up practically whole, ousted Buddhism from its prominent place in the minds of thinking men and put the new teachings in its place. And in that place it stayed until western ideas entered Japan in the nineteenth century, and superseded the older ones, though native learning became quite a serious rival some time late in the eighteenth century. Nor did the Japanese followers of Shushi attempt to make any great additions to this teaching. They were, however, compelled to adapt them somewhat in their application of them to daily life for conditions were different in the two countries. In China the soldier was the lowest man in the social scale, while in Japan he was the highest next to the nobility. Moreover, the Shogun, by whose power this system was upheld, was a military ruler. Hence in the place of the literati we have the samurai. Loyalty was put before filial piety in Japan, but it was explained that this was not doing violence to any principle, because the lord is the father of the people over whom he rules. And so with some other phases of the matter, like that of suicide the same kind of change was

necessary in order that the system might fit the preconceived notions of the people. But once adapted, they clung to it with tremendous pertinacity, so far as the intellectual classes are concerned, though it never took any strong hold on any of the lowers strata of society.

In order to point out the reasons why this teaching so attracted Ieyasu and his successors that they made it the orthodox system, it may be necessary to speak of one or two of the more detailed applications of it to every-day life. It taught the existence, as we have seen, of two things called Ri and Ki. Ri, says Dr. G. W. Knox, corresponds to the Pneuma of the Stoics, the totality of all existence. Ri is what Confucius continually calls the "Way", that is, reason or law. But there can, of course, be no real Ki without Ri, and Ri without Ki would simply be a blank abstraction. For example a man's heart is Ki and is polished and perfected by Ri, that is, by means of reason or order. In the case of individuals this manifests itself as sin, but in the case of nations it results in a lack of stability. In other words, that every man should do his duty in the place where he was born and where nature intended him to work, is the clear and obvious way of righteousness. Evil is in the world today because the sage is no longer in the seat of the ruler. In ancient times these wise men sat with folded hands and ruled by doing nothing. Everything was lovely and everybody was happy.

All this is opposed to the Buddhist idea that it is a virtuous thing to become a priest. If a man be born a priest,

well and good; but if he be born in some other station in life, let him stay in the place where he was born.

Taken in its national meaning, this doctrine means that no man should strive to rise above the position for which he was intended by nature. In other words, The present order of things in the natural order. No wonder the shoguns wanted to see this idea spread at the expense of all others. They stood in a false position, for they had robbed the emperor of all his rightful power and made him little more than a puppet in their hands. Any disturbance of the Status Quo would endanger their position, and hence if all men could be taught to see that any attempt to change the existing order of things was contrary to nature and morality, their hold on the office of military ruler would remain secure. So from the time of Hayashi Doshun down to the end of the Tokugawa Era, the Shusha system had only not the force of its own appeal to reason to stand upon, but was backed by all the power of the almost all-powerful shogunate. And besides being upheld in this way by the real rulers, it was supported by the adherents of the Imperial court in Kyoto as well, for they saw in it a sanction for their doctrine of the divine ancestry and the peculiar rights of the imperial family. No wonder it flourished in the face of the opposition of the men of the Oyemei and Kogaku Schools, and in the face of Buddhism as well, and in spite of the revival of pure Shinto in the eighteenth century. That it withstood the last, however, is partly due to the fact that it had from the beginning made some concessions to Shinto belief, and some of its most able men had tried

strenuously to show that the principles of Confucius and those of Shinto are identical.

2. The Oyomei System.

This school again, like the Shushi School, was founded by a Chinese and came to Japan later. Oyomei (Chinese Wang-yang-ming) lived in China from 1472 to 1528 A. D. He was a man known more of less in military circles, as well as among philosophers and poets. His teachings were measurable popular in China, but they met with a cold reception in Japan, owing to the Opposition, both intellectual and political, which any but the orthodox system of thought met in the Island Empire.

The whole system of thought may be summed by the to Oyomei, the heart was everything. A man might not be able to read, might know nothing of past history, but if he studied his own heart and understood it, that was enough to constitute him a sage. The heart itself is Li, is the same as reason or "Way" of Confucius. Men are all good and need only to study their own hearts with obedience. Some men know what is good intuitively, but all men may attain this knowledge if they will but study their own hearts and purify them by obedience to the five virtues and five relations. If we act, we know, and action is the completion of knowledge. He even went so far as to say that outside the heart nothing exists. The things around us exist only as we come to know them and they cease to be when they pass out of our sphere of knowledge.

He seems even more opposed to the contemplative philosophy of the Buddhist than Shushi, for the end he sought was

virtue rather than self-absorption in mystic contemplation.

The main exponent of this system of thought was Nakae Toju, a sketch of whose life is given elsewhere.* He did not expressly state his relation to Oyomei in his teachings, but he insisted on this study of the heart with obedience to the five virtues and the five relations. In some of his teachings he comes so near to certain parts of the teachings of Christ that now and then scholars have thought that his ideas may have been tinged somewhat with the doctrines of the Jesuits and other Christian teachers who had been at work in Japan for many years, although by the time Toju was born they had all been expelled and Christianity itself had been all but extirpated. More than this, when one of the later shoguns first read a copy of the New Testament, he is said to have exclaimed, "This is Oyomei-ism. If this doctrine spread among the people, confusion will follow."

Toju was the first man of either the Shushi or the Oyomei School to write much. He lived during the first half of the seventeenth century, before the orthodox system was quite so firmly established as it was later or he might have suffered more for his views than he actually did. As it was he had few followers, for the shogunate saw to it that his ideas had little opportunity to spread far.

What the Government disliked in his teachings was the individualism, as well as the democratic ideas which they contained. The whole system which the shogunate had build up rested on the principle of every man fitting into the niche where he

belonged. Therefore anything like individual freedom of thought and action or any assertion of such a thing as rights on the part of the common people was to be stamped out. So the same machinery which had stamped out Christianity was used again - at this new heterodoxy, though of course in a far less degree and in a milder manner, for the task was a much easier one, and even to the mind of the shogun the danger from the doctrine of Oyomei was far less than that from Christianity.

But to say that this system was lacking in influence because it was not allowed to be taught openly, would be to make a great mistake. It roused in the minds of many men in the Shushi School even, a spirit of originality and activity and by its simple presence saved Japan from the fate of falling into the deadening clutches of a single school of philosophy, as China had almost done, so greatly to her detriment. The ideas or ideals set forth by Oyomei and preached by Oyomei and in Japan by Toju and his followers, also, formed the basis of the later Shingaku, or heart learning. This is so true that Toju is some times called writer on Shingaku, although there was nothing like a definite school of this kind till over a century later.

3- The Kogaku System.

This group of philosophers, called the Kogaku or Ancient Learning School, was composed of those men who refused to listen to any kind of interpretation or commentary on the classics, but studied the books directly for themselves. They did not have much that was new to offer, and did not rise to any great prominence in the educational world.

4- Buddhism.

Buddhism was the main religious element in the life of the nation. Its work and its interpretation of life are too well known to need explanation here. Moreover, by the beginning of the era which we are now studying, it had passed hey-day of its glory, and has never since risen to such eminence as it had during the Kyoto Period.

5- The Wagaku System.

This company of men, called the Wagaku or Japanese Learning School, was not large, but beginning near the end of the seventeenth century, grew until it attained its greatest eminence under the leadership of Moto-ori in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It brought Japanese literature to the front, a place which it had not occupied for centuries, or perhaps had never occupied.

The leaders of this school had to contend with two very serious obstacles in pressing their claims upon the people. In the first place, when they rejected the Chinese ideas of Ri and Ki, as well as all the other things connected with them, they had to supply their place with something else. They proceeded to do this out of the Shinto theology or mythology. But the gods of this once all-powerful group had suffered much from the depredations of Buddhism and it took a considerable effort to change the situation. The old Buddhist way was to admit the Shinto gods as manifestations of the Buddha, thus subordinating Shinto to Buddhism. But Moto-ori and his fellow thinkers wanted to turn this around and admit the few essential gods of Buddhism to a humble place among the deities of their

native land. The other difficulty which these men had to face was the fact that Shinto has no code of morals. They proceeded to manufacture such a code out of the materials which formed the ethical stories of the hated Chinese teachings, but hardly gave sufficient credit to their source of supply.

But even with all these handicaps, these men did valuable work in counteracting the ultra-Chinese tendencies of the Sinologues, who worshipped everything connected with the Celestial Empire, spoke of themselves as "Eastern barbarians", and bemoaned their fate in having been born in such a benighted land as Japan and not in the great and enlightened country of China! These Wagaku men also contributed directly to the fall of the shogunate, as they directed the minds of men to the writing of the Nihon gwaishi, or History of Japan, by Rai Sango, which was one of the great causes of the revolution of 1868.

6- The Shingaku System.

This system, called the Shingaku or Heart of Learning, the last of the six schools thought to be discussed here, was one of these numerous attempts which have been made in Japan to extract the good from the everything that comes along and combine it all in one whole for the benefit of the people of the country. It was not many years ago that eminent Japanese scholars proposed to extract from Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity all the good contained in each, and make a Brand New Religion especially suited to the people of that empire. There were some men even in the present year of our Lord

nineteen hundred and twelve who believe that such a thing is possible and even hope to see it consummated soon.

The very earliest attempts of this kind were those of the ancient Japanese who reconciled the gods of the people of the north-west coast, who had their abode in Izumo, with those of the Yamato race, who had theirs in the southern part of the country. Kobo Daishi was doing the same things when he declared that the Shinto gods were only manifestations of Buddha. But the boldest, the strongest and most widespread movement of this kind, apart from direct religious propoganda, was started in the eighteenth century, by a man named Ishida Baigan, the first of the Shingaku philosophers.

Baigan was a man of some learning and did some really independent thinking as he looked at the condition of affairs in the educational world around him. In the first place, he saw that the common people were not receiving much attention in the way of morals or education. The government now and then forbade them the publication of pornographic works or at least attempted to do so, but did little real positive work in showing the lower classes how to help themselves. The samurai were fairly well cared for and had a code of morals of their own, known as Bushido, whether they cared to accept it or not, but the commoner had little done for him. Moreover, the men who should have undertaken the task of helping the common people seemed inclined to shirk the task. Buddhist priests did a little in Terakoya and Shinto priests did some such work, as did also some Ronin, and now and then a Jusha or some other learned man

gave a lecture to some small group of these neglected classes, and some few story-tellers did a little of such work. But there was little heart in the teaching of the men in the Terakoya and Tenaraisho, the lectures of the learned men were almost unintelligible to their audiences, and the work of the professional story-teller or popular lecturer was too scattering and not of a high enough character to help much. In fact there were very few real pieces of work done, in comparison to what ought to have been going on, to lead the people into right ways.

When Baigan looked about for some system to guide him in his efforts to uplift the morals of the common people, he found that there were three in vogue in the country. The official classes and nearly all men of education were Confucianists of the strictest type, at least so far as they had any morals. So far so good. But the leaders of thought and the teachers among these men were all deeply concerned over their wrangles about various systems or interpretations of the classics. Books, ideographs and words were all-important to these literalists and dignified sages, so there was little of practical everyday value to be had from them. Buddhism, professed to have a code of morals, and really had a very good one in many ways, but it had been long since even a priest so far as Japan was concerned, had lived up to it very vigorously. It may perhaps be questioned whether they had fallen as low as they have in some cases in the present era when they have sometimes allied themselves with the forces of the wine-shop and the brothel in warring against the reformer. But there was

little to be gained by taking Buddhism as a whole. Last of all came Shinto, but it had no real code of morals of its own. It taught a sort of reverence for ancestors and more or less of loyalty, though even these primitive ideas were partly borrowed from the Chinese.

So after looking over the situation, Baigan selected the Oyomei system of interpretation of the classics as the basis of his teachings, but did not by that act accept it as a whole necessarily. Then he took from all other systems of thought, from buddhism and from Shinto all that he thought suitable to his purpose, and welded the component parts thus gathered into a conglomerate whole. This was done in accordance with a principle of Hobbes, or convenience. Anything in any of these systems or in any other system, which might in any way tend to help on toward the end in view, even though irreconcilable with reason or even if in conflict with previously accepted doctrines could be taken into a system and used according to the principle called Hobbes. It is much the same principle that according to which Buddhism has absorbed so much of the religions with which it has come in contact, and the one which Hinduism and Buddhism are both using in their conflict with Christianity at the present time.

The result of this sort of a selection, made as it was for practical use in contrast-distinction to the wordy disputes of the school men, was a very common-sense sort of teaching. Being addressed to the common people, it was always set forth in very colloquial and often inelegant forms. But it reached and helped those for whom it was intended far better than

else had. It did not, however, add much to the then known principles of education, for the common people, for Kaibara had done too much in that line for any man to surpass him for some time to come. Put into brief form, the ideas of Ishida and to a great extent his followers, were something like the following, though of course anything else might be added if it was convenient to do so for the purpose of accomplishing some particular object.

1- The value of a man is the possibility of educating him. This is what raises him above the brute creation.

2- Man is born a good, that is, a benevolent being.

3- The object to be aimed, at, is the ideal, in education is the "Ten" or "Heaven" of Confucius, or nature, or the perfect man, simple, childlike and honest, all of these being one and the same thing.

4- If one knows how to yield properly to what is stronger and higher and to die when the time comes to do so, one has conquered the petty things of life.

5- Since this world is a miserable unhappy place, one must search and find the truth, that is, real human nature, and only in this way can one be happy.

In general, as one might expect from such a philosophy, Ishida was a pessimist and something of a stoic. There was, however, in the preaching and teaching of these Shingaku men a real and positive moral force, entirely detached from and different from the wretched disputes over nothing but words that often characterized the activities of the school men of that day and which roused the ire of many of Ishida's followers.

The Shingaku teachings were plainer, less filled with allusions to the Chinese classics or other materials so often absolutely unknown to the common people. Most of the work in instructing was directed toward the women and children rather than the men, for that seemed to be the best way to get at the people whom these men were trying to help. This again, as well as the uneducated condition of the whole class of commoners, men and women alike, tended to keep the teachings in a very practical as well as a very simple form.

In another way these men differed from most of the other learned men of their day. They usually had some other means of earning a living besides teaching and were not attached to the court nor were they ever in the employ of any daimyo. This made their teaching work a sort of philanthropy, and many of them hated the school men, the Jusha, who, according to Shingaku ideas, were selling themselves into professionalism.

During the earlier years of the nineteenth century these men received much encouragement from official and other sources, and if there had been a little more of real positive truth behind the movement, they might have done more real work. As it was, the attempt to reconcile Buddhism, Shinto, and Confucianism, three extremely different systems, was doomed from the first to end in failure. Such a movement as this was might hold on for a time, at least among the lower classes, and Hoken might be made a touchstone to make various and sundry dissonant matters all come into the system. But when such a system began to attract the serious notice of thinking men, the glaring

inconsistencies of it would show themselves and it was bound to die. So we may say that Ishida and his followers did help the common people very much and filled, or partially filled, a great gap in the educational system of their day, but they were never able to lay any deep and strong foundation for future work because they yielded so much to Hobbes, or convenience, that they destroyed all their own arguments and so-called truths by means of other arguments and so-called truths, thus making their system a "house divided against itself." The movement is mainly interesting on account of its bearing upon popular education and as an illustration of that faculty of the Japanese mind which has been described as comprehensive or "straddling" in Chapter X. That it is regarded as an important movement by at least some Japanese educators is shown by the fact that a recent set of twelve volumes on Japanese education called the Kyoiku Bunko or Library of Education, contains one volume devoted exclusively to the work of the Shinaku men.

Conclusion.

These are the main philosophic movements which we find among the scholars of Japan during the period which we have been considering. Each of them had strong men among its adherents, who battled fiercely for its principles. During the seventeenth century the clash and roar of this wordy battle grew almost unbearable. At that time Buddhism was still a force to be reckoned with, though weaker than before, but the main noise came from the quarrels of the men of the Shushi, Oyomei and Kagaku Schools, for the men of one school not only fought the

men of the others, but within the ranks of the same school there were often differences of opinion that brought much discussion. This went on until near the end of the century, when the Shogun took up the work of reforming and reviving the Shohei Zaka School, at the same time issuing orders that all teachings except the orthodox Shushi doctrines must be excluded from every school in the empire, so far as interpretation of the classics was concerned. How well he succeeded we cannot tell, for though outwardly the rule was conformed to the main, yet underneath there was a great deal of heresy rife in many schools.

Later on, as the other systems came into the arena, the men of three Chinese schools fought somewhat less with one another, but treated the other three systems with supreme contempt. The Buddhists, as they always had done, regarded the others as irreligious and lacking in depth; the Wagaku men said that the religion of the Buddhists was all superstition and that the Ki, Ri, and Ten of the Sinologues were no more than fancies or words; both Wagaku men and Sinologues looked down on the Shingaku men as poor and ignorant fellows; last of all, the Shingaku men looked upon all the others as hopelessly narrow and bigoted because they refused to use the convenient doctrine of Hoben. They could not see why one should be so strict as to any one idea, if another would work just as well, even if the latter were not really true.

At the time of the fall of the shogunate in 1868, the Wagaku School was probably as nearly in the ascendent as any, though their work was being overshadowed by the new foreign

learning which was coming in from the West and the Shushi system of interpretation of the classics was still the orthodox one.

CHAPTER XXII.

Brief Biographical Sketches.

The picture of the work of Japanese education as given in these pages is a very incomplete one, and it may add a little to the clearness of it to look at the lives of some of the men who were both the products and the producers of that system. The three short biographical sketches which have been chosen for this purpose are those of three men who represent the best element in ancient Japanese education. Kibi-no-Maki stands as one of the greatest, if not the greatest statesman-scholar produced under the old Kyoto regime. Nakae Toju represents the saint or sage of the later period as he worked and taught both as a follower of a nobleman and as a private individual, one of the best of that class of men to whom the education of the Tokugawa Era owes all that is best in it. Kaibara Ekiken stands for the most advanced, the most practical, the most original element in the system. Other men, like Toju, were saints, perhaps we may say; some men held higher official positions than did ever Toju or Ekiken; but none did more for the cause of Japanese education in the way of original thought

and progress than did Kaibara. He was also contemporary of Locke, to whom he bears a striking resemblance, not only in his views but in the ways in which he differed from the other educationalists of his time.

Kibi-no-Mabi.

Kibi-no-Makibi, or Kibi-no-Mabi, as he is usually called, is a good example of the scholar official, or classical statesman of early Japanese educational history. He was of high birth, tracing his ancestry back to the Emperor Korei. His family had once borne the name of Shimomichi, but for some special merit of one of the mabi's not distant ancestors, the name was changed to Ason. The name Kibi came from the estate given to Mabi himself, in the country of Kibi, now Okayama Ken.

Mabi was the eldest of five brothers, all of whom seem to have made themselves more or less famous, and he himself was one of the most able and most tireless workers of his time. If there had been more real men of real ability like him, it might well have been that the power of the court and the Chinese system of education which it supported would have been able to last much longer than it did. He was born in the year 695, about twenty-five or thirty years after the founding of the first University, and hence was a vigorous young man at the time when the institution was getting well started after its reorganization under the Emperor Temmu. His father was a captain of the guard in the capital, but evidently the young

Mabi did not care for military pursuits. At the age of twenty-two his learning was such as to attract the attention of the government, and he was ordered to take the civil service examinations. After this was over, he was sent to China to pursue his studies in that country. A Buddhist priest named Genbo and a lay scholar named Abe-no-nabamaro were sent at the same time for the same purpose. He spent nineteen years in the capital of the northern kingdom of China, studying the classics, history, law, calendar-making, astronomy, Chinese phonetics, panmanship, magic and divining, becoming deeply versed in every one of these various subjects. During his stay, also, he made such an impression on the Chinese court that we find his name noted on the official record of that country, a fact to which the Japanese point with pride as showing that one of their early scholars was able to meet the Chinese on their own ground, in their own capital, and make his presence there felt sufficiently to cause them to record his name in their annals.

When he came back to Japan at the end of his nineteen year sojourn abroad, he brought with him a number of books and other things, which he presented to the emperor. These books were mainly on manners and etiquette, one hundred and thirty volumes being devoted to this subject, while the remaining fourteen were treatises on other matters. It is not a matter for wonder, then, that we read that it was only after the return of this sage from China that the ceremonies in honor of Confucius, conducted at the University were performed in proper style.

Another great contribution to education which came as a result of this visit to China, was the coming over of the famous phonetician, Yanshin, who was almost immediately appointed to the post of professor, or doctor, of pronunciation in the University, and did much to correct the erroneous forms that had come into use there.

Mabi himself, however, was not put into educational work, but was made the chamberlain of one of the secondary wives of the emperor. Later he was made lecturer and chamberlain as well, to the Crown Princess, who afterwards became the Empress Koken. When she came to the throne a few years later, he was raised in rank, but no further office was given to him as he was then nominal governor of the capital. It is probable that the decree of this empress was that every household should provide itself with a copy of the Book of Filial Piety, was due to the influence of this learned man who so much admired all things Chinese.

Too much intimacy with a Fujiwara who was concerned in a plot of some kind led to Mabi's being banished from the capital and sent into a sort of polite or official exile. That is, he was made governor of Kyushu, with his headquarters at Dazaifu, or Dazai, as it is usually called. This might seem to be a strange way of punishing, a traitor or plotter, but in order to understand the severity of such a punishment, one needs only to read some of the literature of the period and he will soon realize how the pampered courtiers of Kyoto suffered from homesickness and other delicate and refin-

ed complaints when they were cut off from the luxury and ease of the capital. This exile did not last long, for only two or three years later he was sent as vice-ambassador to China, where he was welcomed by the same Abe-no-Kuromare who had gone over with him the first time many years before. This Abe had in the meanwhile, so fallen in love with the country that he had been naturalized as a Chinese subject, and on this occasion acted as the special messenger of the Emperor in welcoming the new Japanese ambassador.

Abe and Mabi showed such refinement and such knowledge of Chinese etiquette that the Emperor is said to have been greatly pleased. On questioning them about their native land, they told him such tales of the wisdom and greatness of its rulers and its people that his Majesty called it the 'Sage Empire of the East'. How far this was justifiable from the stories which these men told and how far it was only diplomatic flattery, or how near the stories told by Abe and Mabi were to the truth, we cannot say. But to call Japan at that time, the 'Sage Empire of the East', seems a little exaggerated when we remember to what a narrow circle of persons about the court the whole culture of the country was confined.

The next year Mabi returned to Japan, and the year after he was sent to Dazai, to welcome a Chinese Buddhist priest who was coming over, and a little later he was made governor of Kyushu a second time.

Up to this time his services seem to have been not so very great, but his last visit to China had shown him some things that were of very practical value. With keen political

insight and his thorough knowledge of the Chinese he had seen that a revolution was about ready to break out. The court of Japan he had been on friendly terms with the then reigning monarch of the Celestial Empire and hence there might be an invasion of the Island Empire if the revolution proved successful. Just as he predicted, a rebellion did occur in a year or two, and he was sent to Kyushu to attend to the work of fortifying Hakata Bay, near Dazai, as that would be likely to be the first point which an invading force from China would attack.

While directing the soldiers in the prosecution of this work, he taught them as well, and did much, we are told for the military classes in this line. He also propounded a very interesting theory in regard to the work of training soldiers. In reading over the history of ancient times, he found that the men of those days fought a part of the time and a part of the time they engaged in agriculture, a thing very common among primitive peoples. Moreover, Mabi, read those histories of the ancient times in much the same way that some persons read history nowadays, and concluded that the Japanese race had degenerated as war makers. He was sure that the men of those older days whether in China or Japan were better soldiers than the ones he was then commanding. The reason for this state of affairs was very obviously that the men of that far-off golden age alternately fought and farmed. He therefore proposed to the government that the men whom he was then commanding should be kept at their military exercises for fifty days and then put to work in the fields for ten days. Whether this was the

proportion of time spent in these two pursuits by the best fighters of the past or not, we cannot say, but the government evidently thought well of the plan for he was allowed to try it though history does not say how great a success it was.

The invasion which he had feared did not come, fortunately, but Mabi was kept busy suppressing uprising at home for the next few years a rather strenuous occupation for a man who had made a special study of etiquette.

When the Empress Kōken re-ascended the throne as the Empress Shotoku, she made him a high minister of state, and raised him in rank as well as enlarged his estate in Kibi. And as long as she lived he kept on rising in power and influence, finally reaching almost the highest point which it was possible for a subject to attain. On her death, however, his advice in regard to her successor being rejected, he retired from office and four years later died at the age of eighty-one.

His educational work seems to have been but slight, consisting of his lectures before the Crown Princess, and some occasional work in the University and in Dazai. Besides this he is said to be the author of the phonetic arrangement of the characters in the Japanese syllabary which is sometimes used in the place of the I-ro-ha of Kobo Daishi. Some historians would have us believe that he was a man who originated the Kata-kana, but it seems far more probable that this set of symbols was invented by the Buddhist priests in the manner described elsewhere,

As was said at the beginning, Kibi-no-Mabi represents

probably the highest type of man produced by the old Chinese system of education as it was carried on during the Kyote Period. He studied as far as he could at home and then went abroad to study more. He was a soldier and a statesman and in spite of set-backs now and then, he was prominent in state affairs from the time of his return from China when about forty years of age till only four years before his death. And though it all he was a thorough believer in Chinese philosophy and Chinese ethics and a deep student of Chinese history. As the object of the education of his day was to produce statesmen, men so familiar with the history of the ancient kings and sages of China that they could imitate them in principle and practice, we may look upon Kibi-no-Mabi as a very high class specimen of what the system was able to turn out. What its average or poorer products were we may judge from the quotation from Murdock on page 155.

Nakae Toju, the Sage of Omi.

The first great expositor of the Oyomei School and perhaps its greatest Japanese representative was the subject of this sketch, Nakae Toju, the "Sage of Omi". He was born in the province of Omi on the shores of Lake Biwa, not far from the city of Kyoto, in the year 1608. His father was a plain farmer of the village of Ogawa, but his grandfather was a samurai in the service of the daimyo of the province, Lord Kato. Toju was an only son, but in spite of this fact, for the sake of the opportunities it would give him, his parents allowed him

to be adopted by his grandfather. The giving up of one only child is hard in any country, but in Japan a proceeding of this kind is doubly hard, and in this case shows that he probably inherited some of his love for learning from his parents who, though they had no education themselves, knew how to value it.

Not long after this he went to Osu, near Matsugama, with his grandfather, and while there came across a copy of the books called the Daigaku, or the Great Learning one of the classics by Confucius. He was greatly struck by some of the sentiments expressed in the book, and resolved in all humility however, to become a saint or a sage. He became, if he was not so already, intensely devoted to his lord, his parents and his grandfather as the first step in this direction.

His contract with Buddhism was through his teacher of writing and poetry, a Buddhist Priest, but it gave him a dislike for this religion which he never lost, because he could not tolerate the idea that Buddha did not possess perfect humility, which was his own ideal.

When Tojy was sixteen years old, his grandfather died, but he set himself at his study and his duties to his lord more diligently than ever and not long after this he obtained for the first time a full set of four classics. But all this time he had to study only at night and somewhat secretly, as learning was despised by his companions. They sometimes taunted him about his intellectual pursuits, but he was able to silence them. On one occasion one of them called him "Confucius" in derision. Toju replied, "You ignoramus, you. Holy Confucius has been dead not two thousand years. Mean you by that epithet

to blaspheme the sage's name or deride me for my love of knowledge? Poor fellow. War alone is not the samurai's profession, but the arts of peace as well. An unlettered samurai is a chattel, a slave. Are you content to be a slave?

Needless to say, this tormentor did ^{not} trouble the youthful disciple of Confucius again.

In 1525 his father died and he wanted to go home and live with his mother, but his lord did not wish him to leave so he stayed for nine years more. This made fifteen years in all, during which time he made but two brief visits to his old home. Meanwhile he was growing in fame as a Shushi philosopher and was noted for the purity of his character.

In 1634 he left his lord's service with great regret and went back to live with his old mother. He arrived in the village of Ogawa with the equivalent of about fifteen cents or less in his possession. He bought a little wine with his money as capital and peddled it about the country nearby. He also sold his sword, the one possession dearest to the heart of every samurai, the 'Soul of the Samurai', as it is often called, for ten pieces of silver. By lending this money and in other ways, he gained a precarious living for himself and his mother for two years. At the end of that time he opened a school in his native village where he taught those about him for the presents which they brought him as their master, or teacher.

About 1639 we find that he was in the habit of reciting the Book of Filial Piety every morning in much the same manner that Christians perform their morning worship. This was the

first visible step in his wakening from the cold stoicism into which his study of the ancient sages in his earlier life had thrown him. In 1645 he bought and read the works of Oyomei, and from that time he was really an exponent of this line of teaching until his death in 1648.

His influence, however, was due as much to his character as to his teaching of the Oyomei doctrine. Even before he came across this idea of studying the heart and being guided by it, he was a man of pure and blameless character. Many stories are told of the influence of this gentle mannered man and his teachings upon the people of the village in which he lived. After his death his was made sort of a shrine and has been repaired and rebuilt by the villagers from time to time up to the present day, though few men in the neighborhood now know much of his life and work.

Among his disciples were many men who afterward became famous in the life of the nation. Arai Hakuseki, the great philosopher of the beginning of the eighteenth century was much indebted to him, as were others of lesser note. His three sons served the lord of Bizen (Okayama) and doubtless the great progress of the schools of that province under Ikeda Mitsumasa, is directly or indirectly to be attributed to the influence of Teju through these three sons.

He wrote several books, of which the "Okina Mondo" or "Talks with an Old Man" is the best.

This is, in brief outline the life of a man who represents one of the best types of teacher and philosopher

that Japan has ever furnished. Living quietly, simply, humbly, in the little village of his birth, and supporting his aged mother, he taught those who came to him to be pure in heart and upright in conduct. If there had been more of his kind engaged in this work, it would have been far better for the empire, though too much of his sturdy individualism and assertion of the rights of the common people might have caused a rebellion against the shogun somewhat sooner than it really did happen.

Kaibara Ekiken.

Among the men who may be said to have had a prominent part in the work of education in Japan, there is not one who can compare, in certain ways with Kaibara Ekiken. He was not so deep a thinker, perhaps, as some men who have lived and worked in this Island Empire; he was not so portentously learned as some; and he never occupied so high a seat in official circles as many less able men did. But in spite of all this he was a more original thinker along some lines than any of the others, and he was learned enough to make his name highly respected even at the courts of the emperor and the shogun. And though he never reached a high official position he had a strong influence upon the men of his day and generation. He appeals to us as a more practical man than many of his kind who have risen both in the Orient and the Occident. Then, too, he seems ahead of his time, or even ahead of Japan at the

to some extent, and more like an Occidental than some Orientals. It may be for this reason that he appeals to us so strongly.

He was born in 1630 of a good samurai family. His father was a physician, but not a very rich man, though at the same time he was not what would be called poor. Ekiken was the youngest son and was chiefly educated at home. He studied for his father's profession, but he never practiced a great deal, though he did some. This study of medical books gave him the ability to read and he went on to deeper study than the mere reading of books on medicine. Before he had gone far he came to conclusion that most bodily ills were due to mental trouble, and that the way to cure them was by taking care of the mind. This meant, necessarily, that he must study education, and he proceeded to do so.

When thirty years of age he spent three years in Kyoto, talking with, and learning from many of the great scholars of that time. When the three years were over he came back to his native place, Fukuoka, and became the court physician of the Daimyo, a position which he retained to the end of his days. His duties were not so arduous so but but what he found time to lecture on and expound the classics. And in doing this he showed such ability that his fame reached both Kyoto and Edo, the courts of the emperor and the shogun. It was here, during this forty years in the service of this daimyo, that he did his life work. He was officially a physician, and as physicians went in those days, he probably a fairly good one but it is not for this part of his labors that he is remembered but for the work and writing which he did aside from employment.

During most of this time he was ably assisted by his wife, who seems to have been, in spite of her being much younger than her husband, an almost model helpmeet for him. When he married her, he was forty and she only sixteen. He himself taught her after she became his wife, in fact most of her education she owed to him, and she did credit to her instructor. He taught her to keep accounts, to manage the household, to be thrifty and saving in many ways, and succeeded so well that, although they were never rich and travelling was expensive, yet he nearly always managed to take her with him on his journeys. This might seem, at first sight, rather contrary to his ideas that girls or women should not go out except when necessary after they are ten years old. But it is really only a case of recognition on his part, of the fact that women as well as men have some interest in seeing things outside the four walls of the home and if the wife is to be, as he taught that she should be, a real helpmeet and companion to her husband, she must get a broader view of life than is possible if she never goes outside of her house. This seems to be one of the points in which he seems to be ahead of many Japanese of the present day, some of whom are inclined to take the view expressed by a professor of one of the government colleges the other day. When the remark was made in his presence that the English or American idea was that the wife should be so educated that she could be a true companion to her husband, he gave vent to a snort of contempt for such a puerile view of the matter that was expressive as it was brief. Not all Japanese

men would agree with him, but the proportion of this kind of men seems greater in Japan than in England or America, at least. And in so far as Ekiken represents the more liberal attitude toward women he was in advance of his day for Japan is more and more coming to see things as he was them, and to recognize that women have certain rights that must be respected if the life of the nation is to progress as it should. It must not be inferred from this that Ekiken did not believe in the supremacy of man over women and the husband over the wife in the home. He did believe most strongly that the woman must be taught obedience, and this is one of the cardinal principles set forth in his work on education of women. But this idea was tempered by his further statement that patience and consideration must be the foundation of family life, and that the master must set the example of his household, a matter that is sometimes lost sight of by the lords of creation in both hemispheres.

His contribution to the cause of education is largely to be found in the principle which he laid down for the education of boys and girls. Some of his works, especially his "Jikkun", or ten essays on education, are read by statements of pedagogical and educational problems of the present time.

In setting forth his ideas on the training of the young, Ekiken stands out in two particulars in contrast to most of the educators of pre-Meiji Japan. In the first place, he wrote carefully and in a detailed manner and in many ways liberally in regard to the education of women. In the second place, the whole trend of all his work on education is eminently practical for the ordinary man or woman. He did not dismiss

the matter of the education of the ordinary woman as a matter entirely beneath the consideration of an able man, or as a thing which had no necessity for existence, nor did he regard it in the case of the high-born lady as simply a matter of ornament, or a stepping stone to court preferment, as it had been in so many cases during the Kyoto Period. He thought of the problem of women's education as of almost equal importance with that of men. It was the question of how to fit them best, really fit them, for the position of mother, wife, housekeeper, and helpmeet in the best sense of the word. It was not a matter to be dismissed with the ancient remark of Confucius that women and small-minded men are difficult to educate.

The practical bent of his work shows itself in the detailed manner in which he describes how either a boy or a girl should be educated. He was not content to say simply that a boy should learn the classics and guide himself by the teachings of the sages. He described in the minutest detail the course of training through which every child should go, in most cases giving good reasons for each step. And as we read these over today and consider the time in which he lived, we cannot but be struck by the superiority of his ideas over those of many of the so-called great scholars of that time. He still shows the influence of the old Chinese schools but that is to be expected. The wonder is that he was able to put so much of real life into a system that was so dead and lifeless that it would seem almost as if it would kill the spirit of every man who was connected with it either as teacher or student.

Turning now to a brief statement of his views on women's education, we find that he would begin the process at about six years of age. They should first be taught to read and write the Japanese phonetic characters, and then go on to the work of mastering the Chinese ideographs. Of course in this work they were not expected to go as far as the men, but should be taught enough for all ordinary women's letter writing and the business of house-keeping. This work should go along with a study of all Japanese poetry with the exception of those parts which are tainted with impure love or similar matters. In connection with this matter he says that some people of his day and earlier days as well, taught women evil and even obscene things because they were women, a practice which he condemns most severely. He would have them protected from all sorts of evil influences of every kind, whether they come in the course of literary study or otherwise. He would not even have them read such masterpieces as the Gemji Monogatari until they had reached the age of discretion because of their pernicious influence. It need hardly be said to anyone who has read some of these things, that Ekiken was quite right in postponing such reading for women until they had reached maturity. The only criticism which one might make on his statement would be that he ought not to have confined his restrictions to women, but should have applied them to men as well. But that is too much to expect of a man of that time.

The thing which he regarded as of the most importance for women was the keeping of accounts, the outcome of this practical, thrifty turn of mind coupled with the idea that

the wife should be the manager of the household. He and his wife were a fine example of harmonious working out of this idea, for he taught her to keep accounts well, and their happiness was due in no small measure to this fact.

But in all this it must not be forgotten that the woman's place was still in the home and that she was still the inferior of man. She should, it is true, study the analects and the Book of Filial Piety as her brothers did, but besides this she should also read the "Jokai" or "Morality for Women", the object of all this study being to make her fully cognizant of her duty along the lines of obedience, faithfulness and chastity, that is, she was, to a great extent, to keep the place accorded to her in the old social system of China. The reason why it seems less harsh when it comes from the pen of Ekiken than when we see it in the writings of other men, is that he tempered it with a spirit of forbearance and patience that was binding on the husband as well as the wife, a matter which too many writers on the self-abnegatory virtues of the Japanese wife seem to forget.

However, Ekiken would have women kept in and protected from too much contact with the world from the time they were tan a thing which we might expect from the care with which he would protect them from contamination in other ways. All in all, we must admit that Ekiken's ideas are in the main sound and if they had been universally made the basis of women's education, and had been coupled with his ideas of forbearance and patience on the other side of the house, the women of Japan would have been a still grander group than they are today; and this is not

a slur on the Japanese women either, but is intended as rather a stricture on those of the lordly sex who profess to look upon women as their inferiors, and who regard self-effacement as the main virtue of woman but think little of that or any other ones as having anything to do with themselves.

Coming now to his ideas in regard to the education of men, we find that he was inclined to be nearly as strict with them as with women, though perhaps in a little different way. The boy should begin his formal study about a year earlier than his sister, that is, at about five years of age. The first year's work was to consist of learning the names of things, numbers, the cardinal points of the same kind as these taught in our kindergartens. If he were bright perhaps he might begin on the phonetic Japanese characters before the end of the year, learning to read and write them. The next year was a continuation of the work of learning to read and write, but from this time co-education should cease. Boys and girls should no longer be allowed to sit side by side in the class room or even at meal times.

During the whole of the rest of the boy's educational life, he was to see little or nothing of the members of the other sex, and his work in learning to read and write was then as it is now, a continuous performance up to the time when he could say that he was master of all the thousands of ideographs in use, a time which usually never came. He only ceased to study them when he ceased all study. He could never really say that he had mastered this part of his work. He could simply work on up to some certain point or rather un-

certain point and then say that he could read such and such books and could write so many ideographs.

At seven he began to learn the polite arts of etiquette and manners and was instructed in the duties of a filial son and of an obedient child and pupil. He began to learn all the small details of the most complicated system of etiquette that any ordinary child ever studied, including the proper manner of conducting himself under any and all circumstances and in the presence of any and all grades of persons. In this year also, he began the real work of learning to write both styles of letters, the square and the running form, corresponding roughly to our printed and script letters. He also expected to begin to read easy Chinese books with short sentences using them for translation work as well as reading exercises.

By the time he was nine he was ready to receive instruction under special teachers for each of the five cardinal virtues and the five human relations (humanity, righteousness, politeness, wisdom, faith and the relations of subject and sovereign, parent and child, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend). Of course he had not been expected to take in the full meaning of every one of these things but he should have such instruction as he was able to receive and comprehend. He also now began work on the real classics of the sages, beginning with the easy ones and passing on to the more difficult ones in true pedagogical style. His teachers should explain the work carefully in order to be sure that everything was understood. Evidently Ekiken did not believe much in the learning of these books by rote

without the faintest idea of what they meant as the old as well as the contemporary system of learning prescribed. Military training also began about this time. This is also entirely different from the courses of this kind in the old Chinese schools. In the Chinese system there was no place for military arts of any real significance, although one or two treatises on strategy were studied. Ekiken's idea, however, was to make the boy a real soldier, not simply a theoretical one. He was to learn to ride, fence, wrestle, shoot with bow and arrow, and do all other things that might be required of a soldier in real war.

The period beginning at nine continued till the boy was fourteen along the lines just laid down. At the end of that stage of his work, he began to be introduced to a few ideas of self-reliance. In his earlier years he was taught minute rules for his behavior in all kinds of circumstances, but now he was to begin to rule his own spirit according to rule. During this period the military training continued and the boy had also to master the two books called the "Shugaku" or "Lesser Learning and the "Shisto" or four classics. This was the minimum of literary work to be done even by the dullards. Brighter boys were expected to accomplish more.

This period, lasting till the age of nineteen, was the last of his education as such. From this point, he was to put away childish things and become a man. He needed no teacher, but should pursue his studies by himself.

In all outline of what a boy's education should consist

of, no mention is made of arithmetic or mathematics of any kind. Ekiken did not neglect this branch of the work, however, for he insisted that every student, whether boy or girl should learn enough of the art of calculating to be able to keep accounts and to do so in a neat and orderly manner. He would also have every boy taught natural history, physics, and other practical subjects in order to fit him better for his life of activity in the world of affairs.

In looking over this program of work for students of both sexes, and comparing it with the contemporary system of the provincial schools, one is struck with the immense advance which Ekiken had made over the other men of his day and many of his successors. For one thing, his whole educational life and aim was moral. He wanted to make men and women able to live their lives in right relations with those about them. Moreover he aimed at this result in a really practical manner. Whereas the other system was content with making a man portentously learned, a very mine of knowledge but withal absolutely ignorant of practical affairs and totally unfit to adapt himself to his surroundings, and bothered itself little or not at all with women, Ekiken aimed at producing an educated rather than a learned man, a man who would be able to take his place in the world as he found it and play the man, and a woman was capable of filling the place of a wife and mother in the best and highest sense of the word. In this practical aim he was far ahead of the men of his time and even of many of the Japanese educationists of the present day. The criticism was

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been made, and justly, too, that the Japanese educational system even now tends to turn out learned rather than educated men or efficient men. In many cases the student of today is possessed with the idea that he ought to master the greatest number of facts rather than acquire power and ability during his school life, thus showing that he has not gotten up to the standard set by Kaibara even yet.

Besides having these aims which were so far in advance of his day, Ekiken also believes in education for all the people. Eight hundred years and more before his day, Kobo Daishi had set forth the idea of universal education in the proclamation which he issued at the opening of the So-gei-shu-chi-in, but his effort ended in nothing. The time was not yet ripe for it and the education offered at that time was not of a kind to attract a practical man of affairs. Ekiken offered a kind of education suited to the common people as well as to officials and courtiers or priests, and although he did not make universal education an accomplished fact, there is no doubt that his writings had much to do with the gradual spread of the work on the Daimyo as well as of the Terakoya and the Tenarasiho.

It may be said that the moral aim was in the minds of the other educators of his own and of more ancient times as well, but Ekiken put it into a more practical form and made it more of a real force in the lives of the men who came in contact with him or his books. So high was his moral aim and so lofty some of his thoughts as he expressed them in his writings that some have said that if the Christian word "God" were put in the place of Kaibara's word "ten" or "heaven" his works might

be taken for those of a Christian writer, a thing which can hardly be said of many of the men of his day.

So in concluding, we may say that these three things (a) the balancing of the mutual obligations of the two sexes, (b), the practical and moral aim of all education, and (c) the giving of it to all the people are the main ideas which seem to distinguish this quiet, retiring, yet strong and hard-working philosopher of the early days of the Tokugawa Era.





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